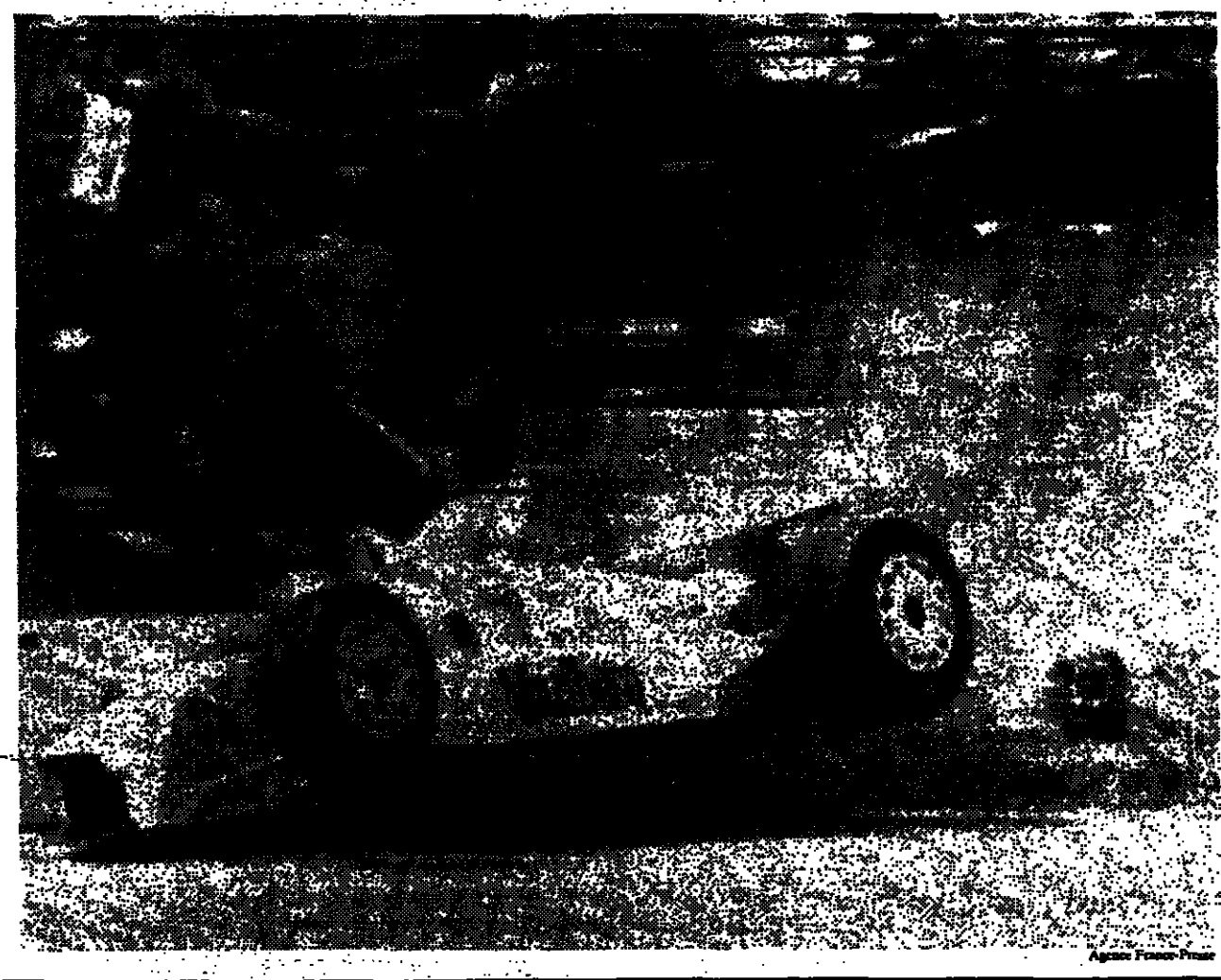




### Senna Wins Monaco Grand Prix, Luyendyk the Indianapolis 500

Ayrton Senna of Brazil, top, won the Monaco Grand Prix at a record pace Sunday. Danny Sullivan of the United States, bottom, crashed into the wall in the Indianapolis 500 as Arie Luyendyk of the Netherlands won the event.



## Germany Dominates Summit

### Bush Seeks to 'Narrow the Differences' on NATO Status

By Joseph Fitchett  
International Herald Tribune

The leaders of both superpowers said Sunday that the military status of a united Germany would be a major issue of contention at their summit meeting this week.

President George Bush said on Soviet television that he hoped in his talks in Washington with Mikhail S. Gorbachev to "narrow the differences" on the German issue. But he and senior administration officials said they were ready to see the pace of détente slow if Moscow refused to carry out its promises of disarmament in Europe and change at home.

Mr. Gorbachev said Friday that he might backtrack from arms-control positions that promised to remove Soviet troops from Eastern Europe and link those talks to the process of German unification, unless Moscow obtained concessions in Western plans for Germany.

The Soviet leader, in an interview with Time magazine published Sunday, said that the Soviet Union would never agree to allow NATO to play the leading role in forging new security arrangements for Europe.

Mr. Bush said that he hoped to persuade Mr. Gorbachev to accept the Western view that it would be better for European stability —

and therefore for the Soviet Union — for a united Germany to belong to the Western alliance rather than being neutral.

Mr. Bush, in the interview with Soviet television, said, "What I want for the summit is to sit with Mr. Gorbachev and talk to him about my and the United States' aspirations for a post-German unification Europe."

But, implicitly acknowledging Moscow's hardening tone, Mr. Bush said that he hoped to reach a "new trans-Atlantic partnership." Page 7.

The West German foreign minister calls for a "new trans-Atlantic partnership." Page 7.

Bush said on U.S. television that it would be the first time that the Bush administration had publicly conceded that the Soviet Union might block the fast pace toward reunification set by the West German chancellor, Helmut Kohl, with strong U.S. backing.

The readiness of Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev to single out the German issue as a possible stumbling block in their overall agenda contrasted with the impression of open horizons for improving relations left by their summit meeting six months ago in Malta.

Mr. Gorbachev, asked if he ex-

pected a major disagreement on the role of a future Germany in NATO, said: "I wouldn't say I expect a major disagreement. I'd state for a fact that there will be one."

Several Western officials said that the Soviet leadership was simply posturing. Soviet tactics, they said, appeared aimed at threatening the pace of East-West negotiations in the hope that a delay in ending the Cold War would induce West Germans and other Europeans to weaken the alliance's future role as the price of Soviet acquiescence.

While probing Western reactions, these officials said, Mr. Gorbachev is simultaneously seeking to placate conservative critics to consolidate his domestic position ahead of a crucial Soviet Communist Party congress in July.

Against a background of deepening domestic economic crisis, Mr. Gorbachev has adopted a tougher line on Germany — and the military future of East Germany, with its 380,000 Soviet troops — in order to placate the military and because it appears to be his last bargaining chip for Soviet political power in Europe, according to Western reports from Moscow.

The Bush administration, apparently with strong allied backing, See SUMMIT, Page 4

## Gorbachev Appeals For Calm

### Consumers Urged Not to Panic Over Price Increases

By Michael Dobbs  
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — President Mikhail S. Gorbachev went on television Sunday night to urge consumers not to panic over planned price increases.

He declared that a market economy was the only way forward if the Soviet Union wanted to get out of its deepening economic crisis.

Over the past two days, a wave of panic buying has hit Moscow and other Soviet cities because of fears that the Soviet currency, the ruble, will lose much of its value under economic revisions announced by the government last week. Nonresidents of Moscow have been barred by the Moscow City Council from shopping in the capital for a two-week period in an attempt to stabilize the situation.

"I appeal to you, do not give way to panic," said Mr. Gorbachev, flanked by a red Soviet flag as he made his address from his Kremlin office. "Let's look at this soberly and we will resolve the problem."

Mr. Gorbachev's speech came as opposition deputies in the Soviet parliament prepared to debate a motion of no-confidence in the government of Prime Minister Nikolai I. Ryklov. The government's economic measures, which envisage a two- to threefold increase in food prices, most beginning next year, have also come under attack from Communist Party conservatives.

The president told Soviet citizens that the government wanted to make the transition to a market economy as painless as possible and would do its utmost to protect the population from higher prices and unemployment.

But he also denounced the topsy-turvy pricing system as an insult to common sense, saying that bread was so cheap that schoolchildren frequently used it as a football.

The people themselves have demanded that we put an end to this situation," he declared, adding that the economic situation was likely to become even more tense in the coming months.

The government has already announced that bread prices will rise by 300 percent in stages, beginning July 1, with other price increases following six months later. The price of bread, which has not changed for more than three decades, is considerably cheaper than the price of grain.

Quarrels flared around empty shop shelves in Moscow on Sunday as people fought to buy anything that could be stored.

Mr. Gorbachev's address marked the start of a campaign by the Communist authorities to sell the economic package to the population. Government officials insist that the revisions will fail unless they are supported by Soviet citizens.

Appealing for a national consensus, Mr. Gorbachev denounced opposition groups for putting forward "unacceptable, ultimatum-like demands," which he said could de-

See SOVIETS, Page 4

## Seeking a Kind Word in U.S.

### At Summit, Gorbachev Needs Proof That He Still Matters

By Bill Keller  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — What President Mikhail S. Gorbachev seems to need most of all from the Washington summit meeting that begins on Wednesday is not arms control or economic aid, nor agreement on Germany or sympathy on Lithuania, but proof that he still matters.

A crowd-pleasing performance in the United States may no longer be enough to distract the Soviet public from its domestic obsessions, but it is only on the international stage these days that Mr. Gorbachev seems to his own people a commanding figure, a shaper of the world.

He has never needed that reminder more.

It is not that any particular rival threatens his place, or that any faction is poised to overthrow him. His five-year term as president runs until March 1995.

But his authority seems to be dissolving beneath him, as his pop-

ular support slackens and he struggles to keep pace with events.

People who once viewed any threat to Mr. Gorbachev with alarm, believing everything depended on him, have now begun to contemplate life after Gorbachev, or at least a life in which he is an officeholder with no real power.

The Soviet leader's comrades say he is not suffering a crisis of trust,

are being born, the Communist autocracy is giving way to a constitutional presidency and the government talks of building a market economy on the ruins of Communist planning.

"Where you see chaos, I perceive the dismantling of the old system," the editor wrote in last week's issue. That has been Mr. Gorbachev's style: to instigate a kind of havoc and trust in his own ability to sort out the disorder.

Yet on all fronts — the unraveling of the Communist political system, the dissolution of the Eastern bloc, the cascade of economic discontents — it seems that the breakdown of the old order is accelerating faster than something stable can be built in its place.

The summit meeting takes Mr. Gorbachev from Moscow at a time when three major political crises are coming home simultaneously.

His government's new economic plan is already under fire from consumers alarmed by the promise of

See POWERS, Page 4

## Threat of All-Out Rail Strike Overshadows Polish Elections

By Blaine Harden  
Washington Post Service

WARSAW — The threat of a nationwide rail strike combined Sunday with surprisingly low voter turnout to cast gloom over Poland's first completely free election in half a century.

Railway workers in northwest Poland, who have been on strike for eight days, forcing the closure of the country's two largest ports, called a 90-minute warning strike for midday Monday and threatened an indefinite national freight strike starting Tuesday evening un-

less the government responds to their wage demands.

The Solidarity-led government again categorically refused the wage demands, arguing that any strike-forced wage increases would bring renewed inflation and ruin a five-month economic recovery program.

The strike threat — the most serious challenge to the government since it came to power last autumn — has overshadowed the local elections, which gave voters an opportunity to again advance Poland's year-old democratic revolution.

More than 50,000 councilors were being chosen to run 2,348 local government bodies. The vote coincides with a sudden handover by the central government of about one-fifth of its property to local councils.

These bodies will be able to raise taxes and spend money on their own authority.

As the polls closed Sunday only about 42 percent of eligible Poles had voted, according to the national election commission.

Government polls had earlier predicted turnout would be between 50 and 60 percent. In last

year's semifree parliament election, which set the stage for the end of Communist rule and which marked the start of an anti-communist chain-reaction across the East Bloc, turnout was 62 percent.

Unofficial and incomplete results are not expected until Monday night, with final results at midweek.

The vote was set against a backdrop not only of the rail strike, but also of a precipitous and painful fall for most Poles in their standard of living.

As a direct result of the government's free-market program, the

economy has slid into deep recession with real income down by 40 percent and unemployment rolls growing to about 400,000.

Talks between the government and the strikers broke off Saturday in Warsaw and railway workers returned to the Baltic coast city of Slupsk, where they met through the night with the Solidarity leader, Lech Walesa.

Mr. Walesa, the Nobel Peace Prize winner who led Poland's peaceful revolution, has been backed into a corner this year as he has tried to support both the government and the workers. In the

process, he appears to have lost credibility both in Warsaw and on the factory floor.

In Slupsk, Mr. Walesa said he had been "very near" signing an agreement with strikers, but that his negotiations were sabotaged by leaders of the All Poland Trade Unions Alliance, created in the 1980s by the Communist government as a rival to Solidarity.

The Alliance has supported the demands of the Slupsk strikers, who want a 20 percent wage increase. That would give them about \$10 more than the average Polish monthly wage of \$98.

## Follow the Fad: Don't Do It

### After the Hearty Party, America Seeks the Sober Truth

By Molly O'Neill  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — "Non" is more than a prefix. It has become a life-style.

It is the dinner bell: nonfat ice cream, nondairy spread, noncaffeine cola, nonalcoholic beer.

It is the mating call: "Nonsmoking, nondrinker prince seeks sober princess."

The red circle with the slash has become America's all-purpose problem buster.

Membership in the "Anons" — programs that include Alcoholics Anonymous, Overeaters Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous, Gamblers Anonymous, Sexaholics Anonymous, Workaholics Anonymous and dozens more — has doubled in the last decade.

Their precepts are more than therapeutic tools; today, they are words to live by.

"Abstinence. Sign of the Times" is the message on the T-shirt that artists and stockbrokers alike wear in the East Village of Manhattan.

Ellen Miller, who has lived there for 20 years, calls the local trendsetters "the nones" — they wait none of this, none of that.

"Drug Free Body" announces another T-shirt, worn by Ellen Kane, a 24-year-old painter who lives in Manhattan.

Last year she had a shirt that said "Sex Drugs Rock & Roll." She won't leave the house in it now.

"I've seen how much damage self-indulgence can do to people

and to the world," she said. "You can't control the world, but you can try to control yourself."

There are new Scalet Letters: a burning cigarette, a martini glass, a line of white powder.

Just a few years ago, these were symbols of sophistication. Today, they have become icons of low life.

"If you put a cigarette in a character's hand, you are announcing that he smells bad and doesn't take care of himself," said Steven

turbulent wake of the insider-trading scandals and the crash on Wall Street, as the specter of AIDS loomed over all who liked to party hearty.

With the glamour of conspicuous consumption slipping, Michael Jackson's "Man in the Mirror" climbed the record charts. "If you wanna make the world a better place, take a look at yourself," he sang.

His sales soared in a country where 15 of 26 major league baseball parks have cordoned off non-drinking sections and where non-smoking has become the standard policy in public places.

"People are desperately trying to establish a sense of control by self-denial," said Dr. Mari Terzagli, a psychologist in Manhattan.

Dr. Terzagli treats people with addictions from substance abuse to the habitual high-rolling life-styles themselves.

She said: "They got used to the clothes, the \$10,000-a-month apartment, the BMW. When they can't pay for it all, they have an identity crisis."

She said she had seen a lot more such patients since late 1987, when the stock market plummeted.

Dr. Derrick de Kerckhove, a professor of the McLuhan Program at the University of Toronto, has tracked another footprint: the rise of "non" in language.

"Electronic media has expanded

Each is a thread in the skein of Postmodernism that has always run through American life, periodically pulling the fabric taut.

The current vogue rode in on the

Each symbol has the power to signify class distinction and personal identity.

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Mr. Le Pen passing a barrier into Saint-Franc, France, Sunday after a meeting of his National Front was banned. The village was sealed off to his supporters but Mr. Le Pen was allowed to speak.

## In France, a 'Colonization'

By Alan Riding  
New York Times Service

CLICHY-SOUS-BOIS, France — With immigrant children crowding school playgrounds and with nearby apartment blocks gradually turning into high-rise slums, French residents of this dormitory town outside Paris talk of little else but the "colonization" of Clichy-sous-Bois.

Their attitudes reflect what is widely viewed as the country's

most serious crisis: the opposition to immigration and support for the extreme-right National Front, which have been growing steadily in many French cities.

Arabs, Africans and Asians now make up a third of the town's 30,000 inhabitants.

In municipal elections in March, 30 percent of the voters supported the National Front, which calls for the eviction of non-European immigrants from France. Even the

town's Communist mayor, Christian Chapuis, who regularly denounces the National Front as racist, believes that something must be done.

"Almost all the Earth's populations are represented here," he said. "We can't take any more. There's no more room, there's no more housing."

Until now, squabbling between the government and major opposi-

See FRANCE, Page 4

## 6 Are Killed By Soviets In Armenia

Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — Soviet troops shot and killed six armed vigilantes Sunday in an exchange of gunfire at the main railroad station in the Armenian capital of Yerevan, the official Tass news agency reported.

Tass said the soldiers had been attacked by a group of 15 armed men as they returned to Yerevan after escorting a train to the south of the republic. It said 10 soldiers and one passerby had been seriously injured.

The Tass account was disputed by a journalist at the Armenian news agency Armenpress, who said a peaceful crowd had gathered around the soldiers to try to persuade them to leave Yerevan. He quoted a Soviet officer as saying the troops opened fire because they thought the crowd was about to seize their guns.

The shooting is the most serious incident to take place in Armenia since nationalist groups began forming their own private armies earlier this year, after the outbreak of virtual civil war with the neighboring republic of Azerbaijan.

The Soviet Army has been trying to confiscate arms from the groups without much success over the past few months.

The shooting was on the eve of big unofficial rallies in Yerevan to mark the anniversary of the decla-

See CLASH, Page 4



## Singapore Leader Warns on Power Shift in Asia

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, who is on a visit to Turkey, France, Britain and West Germany before handing over the leadership of his country to a younger generation later this year, discussed the impact of possible U.S. troop reductions and other issues with Barry James of the International Herald Tribune.

Q. Why do you say an American withdrawal from Europe would have an impact on the Asia-Pacific region?

A. After 45 years of maintaining the peace in Europe and in the world the Americans felt they were not needed any more, the desire to cash in the peace dividend would grow even stronger. This would mean a bigger cutback in the Asia-Pacific region than is going to happen anyway. Once such a mood sets in, it will not be easy to reverse the trend.

Q. Is this why you are offering military facilities to the United States?

A. That decision preceded the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact. It was to meet a specific difficulty. The Philippines considered the political burden of American bases too onerous because it was the only country in the region playing host to American forces. By offering the Americans the use of air

and naval base facilities in Singapore, we shared the burden with the Philippines.

Q. Would a U.S. withdrawal from Asia upset the balance of power?

A. Unlike Europe, there has never been an indigenous balance of power in Asia. Before the war it was Americans, British, Chinese and Dutch against the Japanese.

### MONDAY Q&A

the French having been excluded because Vichy France was neutral. The Japanese knocked down that alliance in six months and they were supreme for several years until the Americans came back with a vengeance. Since then American military power has kept the peace in Asia. And if this presence is removed, all the latent conflicts in the region will surface.

Q. This would entail an expansion of Japanese power?

A. If the vital alliance between Japan and America were broken, then yes.

Q. This would be a bad thing in your opinion?

A. It would not be welcome by anybody in Asia and I suspect not even by the Japanese.

Q. But haven't the Japanese, like the Germans, learned the lessons of history?

A. The older generation has. I am not so

certain about the younger generation. They have grown up with very little knowledge of what took place, because there has not been the same process of education that the Germans went through. There has been little public education by the Japanese. Former Chancellor (Helmut) Schmidt keeps reminding us of the difference between the Germans and the Japanese. I agree with what he said in his Dumbly lecture in London recently, that if it becomes difficult to convince the American Congress of the necessity to maintain large naval and air power in the Pacific, "it will be even more difficult for the neighbors of Japan to accept the great Japanese military power. Japan does not have friends in the world, especially not in the Far East. There is no Korean political leader, whether in Communist North Korea or in South Korea, who would call the Japanese his friends. There is also none in China, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, or the Philippines, not even in Australia or New Zealand. Once again, Japan is becoming an isolated, insulated nation." I agree with this. The Japanese may once again feel unloved in Asia.

Q. You and the other newly industrialized countries are being challenged by countries with lower labor costs, such as Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. How do you defend yourself?

A. That happens all the time. The Japanese were chased by Koreans, Taiwanese and us. They moved upmarket; they added more value through robotics, automation, computerization. We have to do likewise as the low wage countries catch up with us.

Q. Hence your emphasis on education?

A. Absolutely. The key to economic success, in today's world, is a well-educated and highly skilled work force which is versatile and adaptable in using new technology. It is the crucial factor for success.

Q. Can China for long remain isolated?

A. They cannot go back and rejoin the Soviet bloc because it has totally disintegrated. They want to join the market economy. So does China. That is the only choice China has.

Q. That implies they will have to make the Hong Kong agreement work as a link to the free market economies of the West? A. Absolutely. They have no choice. But whether or not they have the sensitivity to leave things as they are, because that is the way the system works, we will have to wait and see. My guess is that when it comes to the crunch, they will not do anything which will threaten or negate Hong Kong's usefulness to them economically. Politically it is different. They are not prepared to have Hong Kong become a model of what China ought to be.

## First Results In Burmese Voting Back Opposition

By Philip G. Smucker

Special to the Herald Tribune

RANGOON — Burmese citizens, voting Sunday in the first multiparty balloting in 30 years, strongly supported the country's suppressed opposition movement in elections organized under tight restrictions by the military junta, according to early results and foreign observers.

The early results in the Burmese capital backed an end to the tenure of the military junta, which seized power in September 1988 by crushing a pro-democracy uprising.

The National League for Democracy, led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who is under house arrest, won the eight first legislative seats in the elections and seemed likely to make a strong showing here, official and unofficial results showed. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is the daughter of U Aung San, an independence leader, who took up the banner of democracy during the uprising in 1948.

Although no conclusive results were expected for several days, Burma's 20 million voters appeared to have turned the poll into a show of defiance against the military government.

The opposition claimed Sunday that it was heading for a landslide victory in the elections, Reuters reported, and state radio said the League had won 80 percent of the vote.

League candidates said the issue now was whether the military junta, which assumed power after soldiers crushed a pro-democracy uprising in September 1988, would step down.

"We are hoping the transfer of power will be peaceful," said a candidate, Sein Hla Oo. "It is also the people's hope."

Although only preliminary results were available from the provinces, the balloting there, too, was proving to be a forum for an outpouring of support for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, 44, foreign observers said.

A total of 2,297 candidates from 93 parties ran for 492 seats in the Hluttaw, or parliament.

The country's three best-known opposition leaders were barred from participating in the campaign and remained in detention. Prior to the vote, Western diplomats, human rights groups and others had expressed concern over widespread arrests and intimidation of party workers.

But on Sunday, unofficial observers said the balloting appeared to be fair despite the restrictions imposed on the opposition.

The country's military leader, General Saw Maung, renewed a pledge to "transfer power according to the law," but many Burmese received his declaration skeptically.

There were no overt signs of a military presence Sunday in the capital, Rangoon, and no disturbances were reported in other major cities.

Dancing and cheering broke out in the campaign headquarters of the National League for Democracy, the party of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Celebrations elsewhere in the city were subdued by a 10 P.M. curfew.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remains under house arrest in her lakeside home here. Party officials said they hoped a victory would force the military to release her from restrictions.

There were some signs that the vote could boost the leverage of the democracy movement.

Underground leaders warned that a government refusal to keep its promise to hand authority to an elected government could spark a general uprising.

"If they don't hand over power, there will be a nonviolent general uprising, including hunger strikes," said Ko Ko Gyi, the acting chairman of the All-Burma Federation of Student Unions. Its members have suffered arrests and torture at the hands of the junta.

In 1988, Burma's population rose in anger against failed socialist government and military repression. Hundreds battled troops with gasoline bombs and slingshots. Thousands were killed, but the military strongman, General Saw Maung, agreed to a "free and fair" election.

Diplomats who had earlier called the election unfair because of arrests and detention of major opposition figures said the polling showed some unexpected merits.

"So far, from what we are seeing, it is not a farce," said a Western diplomat.

Among those being detained are nearly 400 members of the National League for Democracy, including its two top leaders: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who was placed under house arrest last July, and a retired general, Tin Oo, who is serving a three-year jail term.

Another major opposition figure, former Prime Minister U Nu, is also under house arrest.

Troop presence in major cities was reduced significantly before the elections and some martial law restrictions were lifted. Foreign journalists and some diplomats were invited to view the balloting.

Voting in the capital went calmly but many were apprehensive. "We think they will cheat us," said one young lady watching the voting.

"This is an opportunity to say 'no' to the military dictatorship," said U Myint Aung, an elderly worker who cast his vote for the party of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

Residents in poor neighborhoods reported arrests of students and torture in recent weeks.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Athens Pollution Hospitalizes 500

ATHENS (Reuters) — More than 500 people were admitted to hospitals here over the weekend complaining of heart and respiratory ailments linked to high pollution levels, radio stations reported Sunday. Levels showed signs of dropping on Sunday, with the onset of a light breeze and slightly lower temperatures, after being dangerously high for three straight days. On Saturday, nitrogen dioxide levels neared 500 micrograms per cubic meter of air, the point at which emergency measures must be taken.

The environment ministry advised residents to avoid going out on the streets but did not announce emergency steps. Athens is one of the world's most polluted capitals. During a nine-day heat wave in 1987, pollution contributed to the deaths of about 1,000 people from respiratory complications and heart attacks.

### Pope Warns on Consumerism in East

VALETTA, Malta (Reuters) — Pope John Paul II said Sunday that Western-style consumerism loomed as a new threat in Eastern Europe after the failure of communism.

"The series of events in Europe during the last few months shows clearly the inadequacy and failure of a culture which was not built on the primacy of the spiritual dimension of the human person," the pope said on the last day of his weekend trip to the Mediterranean island of Malta.

And he warned Eastern Europe against "an unbridled consumer mentality." He added that the challenge facing Europe was to rediscover its roots. "The restoration of external freedoms is only the first stage, the first step," he said. "The exercise of freedom must be accompanied by a growth in moral and spiritual maturity."

### Group Holding Hostages Warns U.S.

BEIRUT (Reuters) — Iranian-backed Muslims holding two American hostages in Lebanon said Sunday that they would make the United States and Israel pay for the killing of seven Palestinian workers in Israel.

"We warn America and Israel, and we say future developments will not be in anybody's interests," the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine said in a statement. The extremist Muslim group said that Israel and the United States would "pay the price" for the Palestinian deaths. The statement came with a photograph of the U.S. hostages, Jesse Turner and Alan Stein, who were professors at Beirut University College when they were abducted in January 1987.

The group did not say how it would retaliate for the May 20 killing near Tel Aviv by a deranged Israeli. "America is directly responsible for the bloodshed," the statement said, adding, "America is trying to keep its Middle East base, Israel, at any price."

### Israel Backs Belly Dancer's Rights

JERUSALEM (WP) — Israel's Supreme Court ruled Sunday that a local belly dancer had the right to perform in Jerusalem's hotels, restaurants and clubs, overruling objections by Orthodox rabbis.

The belly dancer, Ilana Raskin, an American-born social worker who moved to Jerusalem from Philadelphia, petitioned the court last year after her once-booming business was busted by Jerusalem's Rabbinical Council. The rabbis said that Mrs. Raskin's act was "immoral," and they formally banned it from all the hotels, restaurants and clubs in the city that were holding an official kosher certificate.

But the court said Sunday that the Rabbinical Council could only judge the preparation of food in the hotels and the restaurants, and not the amusements that may come with it.

### Philippines Forms Anti-Terror Force

MANILA (Reuters) — The Philippine Army, citing "a breakdown of law and order," has formed an anti-terrorist force of 3,000 men to combat Communist death squads and rightist rebel officers who are linked to a string of bombings and killings in Manila.

On Sunday, suspected Communist rebels shot to death a police sergeant in the third guerrilla attack in Manila in a week, the police said. "It seems that we now have a breakdown of law and order," a paramilitary constabulary chief, Major General Cesar Nazareno, said Saturday as he announced the new force.

During the past week, the death squads gained a constabulary deputy chief and seven other people in Manila. Grenade attacks at two banks and at an army checkpoint as well as attempts to bomb other offices in the financial district of Manila have heightened tension around the capital.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### French Airlines Forced to Cut Flights

PARIS (AFP) — Air France and Air Inter are reducing a large number of flights on Monday in response to a strike by air traffic controllers and safety engineers in the Paris region.

The air traffic controllers who regulate traffic in the Paris region and in northern France will be on strike Monday. The safety engineers are demanding equal status with the air traffic controllers, while the latter seek better working conditions and a lighter workload.

Only 40 percent of Air France's medium-range flights will fly as scheduled, but all long-distance flights will run according to schedule. Air Inter will continue flights within France, but arrivals and departures from Paris will be reduced by 40 percent to 30 percent.

A West German company, Hoechst AG, has signed a contract for 300 million Deutsche marks (\$175 million) to build a new terminal at Ociek airport in Warsaw. The contract is financed by Citibank of the United States and backed by credits from the Bonn government. (Reuters)

Travelers flying to Rome can now take a direct rail link from the airport to the capital. The 26-kilometer (16-mile) line opened Sunday. (APR)

### This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Britain, Central African Republic, Colombia, Gibraltar, Guam, Hong Kong, Macao, Puerto Rico, Taiwan, United States.

WEDNESDAY: Israel.

THURSDAY: Brunei, South Africa.

FRIDAY: Bahamas, Kenya, Tunisia.

SATURDAY: Bhutan, Finland, Tunisia.

SUNDAY: Finland, Rwanda.

Source: Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., Reuters.

## WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.		HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.
Amsterdam	15	10	0	Bangkok	32	24	0
Antwerp	14	9	0	Beijing	28	18	0
Berlin	16	11	0	Hong Kong	30	22	0
Brussels	15	10	0	Kobe	28	18	0
Copenhagen	14	9	0	Manila	30	22	0
Dublin	13	8	0	Osaka	28	18	0
Frankfurt	16	11	0	Seoul	28	18	0
Geneva	15	10	0	Singapore	32	24	0
London	16	11	0	Taipei	30	22	0
Madrid	17	12	0	Tokyo	28	18	0
Munich	16	11	0				
Nice	18	13	0	AFRICA			
Paris	17	12	0	Algiers	30	22	0
Rome	18	13	0	Cairo	32	24	0
Stockholm	14	9	0	Johannesburg	28	18	0
Vienna	16	11	0	Lagos	30	22	0
Zurich	15	10	0	Nairobi	28	18	0
				Tripoli	30	22	0
MIDDLE EAST				LATIN AMERICA			
Athens	28	20	0	Buenos Aires	28	18	0
Baghdad	30	22	0	Caracas	30	22	0
Bombay	32	24	0	La Paz	28	18	0
Buenos Aires	28	18	0	Lima	28	18	0
Cairo	32	24	0	Medan	30	22	0
Calcutta	32	24	0	Montevideo	28	18	0
Colon	30	22	0	Quito	28	18	0
Hankow	28	18	0	Rio de Janeiro	28	18	0
Hong Kong	30	22	0	Sao Paulo	28	18	0
Kobe	28	18	0	Santiago	28	18	0
London	16	11	0	Sao Paulo	28	18	0
Manila	30	22	0	Sao Paulo	28	18	0
Medan	30	22	0	Sao Paulo	28	18	0
Osaka	28	18	0	Sao Paulo	28	18	0
Seoul	28	18	0	Sao Paulo	28	18	0
Singapore	32	24	0	Sao Paulo	28	18	0
Taipei	30	22	0	Sao Paulo	28	18	0
Tokyo	28	18	0	Sao Paulo	28	18	0
				Sao Paulo	28	18	0
OCEANIA				NORTH AMERICA			
Auckland	18	13	0	Anchorage	28	18	0
Christchurch	16	11	0	Boston	28	18	0
Dunedin	14	9	0	Chicago	28	18	0
Hamilton	16	11	0	Denver	28	18	0
Wellington	14	9	0	Detroit	28	18	0
				Houston	28	18	0
				Los Angeles	28	18	0
				Memphis	28	18	0
				Minneapolis	28	18	0
				New York	28	18	0
				Philadelphia	28	18	0
				San Francisco	28	18	0
				Seattle	28	18	0
				St. Louis	28	18	0
				Washington	28	18	0

MONDAY'S FORECAST: CHICAGO: Partly cloudy; high 64, low 44. NEW YORK: Partly cloudy; high 64, low 44. LOS ANGELES: Partly cloudy; high 64, low 44. SAN FRANCISCO: Partly cloudy; high 64, low 44. SEATTLE: Partly cloudy; high 64, low 44. SINGAPORE: Partly cloudy; high 64, low 44.

## South Africa Right Urges a White State

By David B. Ottaway

Washington Post Service

PRETORIA — South African proponents of apartheid held the largest gathering of whites in support of the policy in nearly three decades, listening to the Conservative Party leader, Andries Treurnicht, call for the removal of President Frederick W. de Klerk and the establishment of an all-white state.

Mr. Treurnicht warned Mr. de Klerk that South African conservatives were not about to accept black majority rule "without bitter struggle." He also demanded recognition for "our right to our own territory and the right to rule ourselves."

The rally, held beneath the imposing Afrikaner Voortrekker Monument on a knoll outside Pretoria, drew an estimated 60,000 people opposed to Mr. de Klerk's policies of legalizing the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid groups and negotiating with them for an end to apartheid policies of racial segregation and white domination.

While the all-white crowd was smaller than the 100,000 people the Conservative Party had hoped to attract, it was reportedly the largest since a former prime minister, Hendrik F. Verwoerd, addressed a gathering in Pretoria in 1961 after whites voted to make South Africa a republic and to withdraw from the British Commonwealth.

The rally on Saturday, attended by many extended families, from grandparents to babies in carriages, was a measure of the considerable white resistance Mr. de Klerk is certain to face as he presses forward with plans to phase out apartheid legislation and pursue talks with black leaders.

However, Mr. de Klerk signaled his determination not to veer from his course of change.

"The new South Africa is already in the process of being born," he declared Saturday at Johannesburg airport on his return from an 18-day tour of nine West European capitals. "Nobody can stop it."

"Through no mistaking of large meetings can anybody stop the process. We will not allow ourselves to be frightened, threatened or intimidated off this path."

Mr. de Klerk said he had been promised that the European Community would give serious consideration to lifting at least some economic sanctions imposed on South Africa. The sanctions issue is expected to be discussed at an EC summit meeting on June 25 in Dublin.

But Mr. de Klerk warned South Africans not to expect immediate, dramatic changes in European policies.

The pro-apartheid rally was held on the 42d anniversary of the assumption of power by the National Party, which Mr. de Klerk heads. At the gathering, Mr. Treurnicht rejected Mr. de Klerk's proposal for power-sharing between whites and blacks.

"You either rule or you are ruled," he said. "You are either politically free or you are in chains."

"The ANC hates the Boer people and the white nation," Mr. Treurnicht said. "They demand our land. They reject our right to exist. But the government still sees its way clear to reach a negotiated consensus agreement with them."

He was applauded at length when he said: "Do you think that the move to a black-majority rule government is irreversible? It will just have to be stopped."

Announcing that a "third freedom struggle" by Afrikaners had begun, Mr. Treurnicht presented a 10-point program to defeat Mr. de Klerk's National Party "as long as there is a constitutional path open whereby we can regain political control."

This would be done, he said, by competing in by-elections, enrolling 1 million voters in the Conservative Party, holding conferences and seeking to "successfully market" the idea of a white state.

Afrikaner nationalists, or Boers as they formerly were known, fought two wars against the British to maintain their own republics. Mr. Treurnicht's reference to the "third freedom struggle" apparently was meant to signal yet another attempt to establish a Boer republic. Afrikaners, descendants of Dutch and French Huguenot settlers, make up about 60 percent of South Africa's 5 million whites.



An apartheid supporter at the rally of 60,000 people near Pretoria.

## Gabon Port in Turmoil As French Add Troops

LIBREVILLE, Gabon — Troop reinforcements sent from France have taken up positions in Port Gentil, the center of the nation's oil industry, where lawlessness continued after anti-government riots in the former French colony began last week.

A French Army spokesman said on Sunday that "the French Army presence is becoming significant" but declined to comment on the number of additional troops deployed.

He said the French troops were at Port Gentil airport, at the French consulate and at oil installations.

France sent 280 troops on Thursday and still more on Saturday to Port Gentil, 130 kilometers (80 miles) from the capital, Libreville.

Libreville, scene of violent anti-government demonstrations last week, was calm on Sunday but diplomats said trouble continued in Port Gentil.

An overnight curfew imposed on Wednesday was ignored. Diplomats said bands of youths drove around the city during the night, burning tires to block roads but said the city was otherwise calm.

French sources said Gabonese troops in Port Gentil were trying to avoid direct confrontation



# Confusion Rises in Kidnap

## Agent Contradicts Denials by DEA

By Robert Reinhold

LOS ANGELES — Contradicting official accounts, a federal drug agent has testified that officials of the Drug Enforcement Administration authorized a \$50,000 reward for the capture of a Mexican doctor the agency believed to be involved in the murder of a U.S. agent in Mexico.

The abduction of the doctor has caused a furor in Mexico and has strained its relations with the United States.

The agent who testified, Hector Berrellez, said that the Washington headquarters of the agency had approved spending \$50,000 plus expenses to have the doctor, Humberto Alvarez Machain, 42, brought to the United States for trial.

But, he added, he was told that his U.S. agents could not participate in any abduction on Mexican soil.

Mr. Berrellez, a DEA agent in Los Angeles, was in charge of the investigation of the murder of the U.S. drug agent, Enrique Camarena Salazar.

Mr. Berrellez's testimony Friday contradicted the statements of DEA and Justice Department officials who have denied on several occasions that the agency offered a reward for Mr. Alvarez.

The Bush administration has repeatedly denied that it paid any reward or bounty for apprehension of the doctor.

At a news conference on Thursday, President George Bush said "The president of Mexico knows that we did not grab that doctor and Americans did not do that."

Mr. Alvarez was kidnapped from Guadalajara and flown to El Paso, Texas, on April 3, setting off an international dispute that has soured Mexican-U.S. relations.

The testimony came at a hearing for Mr. Alvarez, a gynecologist, whose lawyers are asserting that his indictment should be dismissed because of "outrageous government conduct" by the United States.

"I can't explain to you the apparent contradictions," Frank R. Shults, a spokesman for the drug agency, said Saturday of the testimony. "I am a little confused myself. I acknowledge it's difficult to comprehend."

Earlier, the DEA acknowledged for the first time through Mr. Shults that money had been paid to the people who captured Mr. Alvarez, but the spokesman maintained that the payment, of \$20,000, was only for expenses.

Mr. Shults said "there was no bounty and there was no reward."

Among the people who testified Friday at the hearing in U.S. District Court here was a Mexican-born DEA operative who said he served as the middleman between former and current Mexican police officials who abducted Mr. Alvarez.

He said he had paid the men \$20,000 of the agency's money for expenses, primarily the rental of the airplane that took Mr. Alvarez from Guadalajara.

He said he was continuing to pay \$6,000 a week in daily living expenses for seven men and their families who he said had to flee Mexico because of their role in the abduction.

The Justice Department has not disclosed details of the abduction. But lawyers for Mr. Alvarez have said he was taken from his office at gunpoint on the evening of April 2 and that the abductors threatened to kill the doctor if he did not follow their instructions.

At a hearing in Los Angeles last month, Mr. Alvarez testified that one of his abductors in Mexico identified himself as an agent of the Drug Enforcement Administration.

Mr. Alvarez is accused of aiding in the 1985 torture and murder of Mr. Salazar, a DEA agent whose body was found on a ranch near Guadalajara.

Mexican officials have denounced the apprehension of Mr. Alvarez as a violation of Mexican sovereignty.

Mr. Shults would not identify the people who brought Mr. Alvarez to the United States, nor would he give details of the tactics used to apprehend the doctor.

Mr. Alvarez's attorney, Enrique Alvarez del Castillo, acknowledged last month that Mr. Alvarez "may have had contact with narcotics traffickers" and may have laundered money for Rafael Caro Quintero, who was convicted last year of Mr. Camarena's murder.

Federal prosecutors in California said that Mr. Alvarez gave drugs to Mr. Camarena to keep him conscious while drug smugglers tortured him.

By B. Drummond Ayres Jr.

WASHINGTON — The residents call it "Ground Zero."

It is the point in Georgetown where M Street and Wisconsin Avenue intersect and a mass of footloose teen-agers, souvenir-hunting tourists, affluent restaurant goers and happy pub crawlers come together each weekend.

When the mass suddenly went "critical," the mile-square neighborhood of restored 18th-century homes, cobbled streets and chic shops exploded in street violence. The resulting shock waves last week fractured Georgetown's reputation as the best address in the nation's capital.

And set off allegations of political interference in the police department, of economic shortsightedness by Georgetown businesses and of trouble-making by teen-age street gangs.

Most of the violence occurred in fights that broke out in the streets and alleys of the business section. Police arrested nine people, but not before five policemen suffered cuts and bruises.

Georgetown merchants and residents have reacted with demands for more police protection, asserting that the situation has been steadily getting worse as more and more people — 50,000 or so on some Saturdays — have been drawn to the Georgetown scene.

Many say the biggest problem comes from

teen-agers who gather on streets already too narrow and sidewalks already too crowded, often defiantly refusing to give way to others.

"We're becoming less and less a major shopping center and more and more an entertainment center," said Ray Browne, a Georgetown resident who runs an insurance agency and serves on a commission that advises City Hall on neighborhood problems.

"Nobody is panicking and moving out yet," he added. "But we've somehow let ourselves become an urban theme park. There are fewer and fewer boutiques and restaurants and more and more fast-food places, T-shirt shops and cheap jewelry stores."

He added, "There are so many people on the streets on weekends that people in houses three and four blocks away are kept awake until 3 and 4 in the morning by the noise."

After the violence, the police at first warned people to stay away from Georgetown on weekends until extra officers could be sent in.

Then they added that added protection would cost more money, money they contended the department did not have. But Police Chief Isaac Fulwood said later that enough funds had been located to increase police presence.

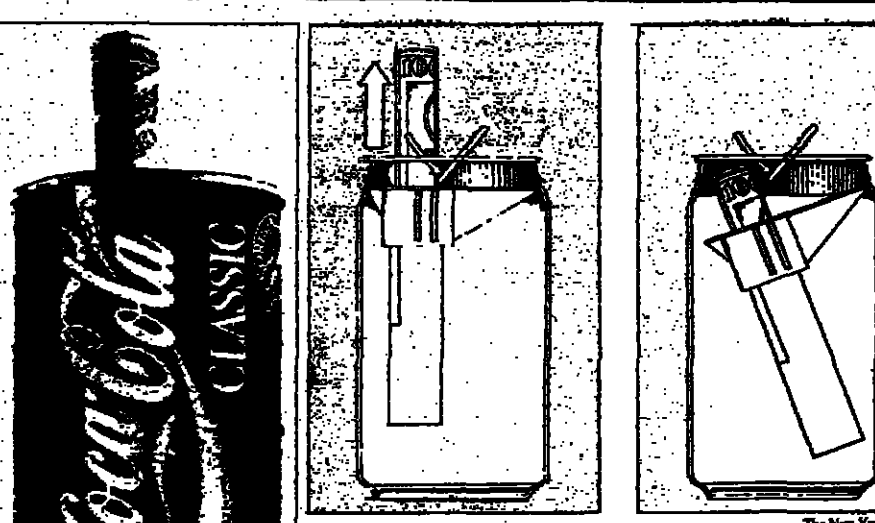
The district's delegate to Congress, Walter E. Fauntroy, a candidate in this year's mayoral

contest, contends that Mayor Marion S. Barry Jr. ultimately is to blame for the situation.

Some white merchants and residents believe race is a factor in some of the violence, noting that many of the youths who gather in Georgetown are black. They tell of incidents in which racial insults were exchanged, along with blows.

But the police say arrests on most weekends are about evenly divided between blacks and whites.

"I don't see race as any significant problem," said Mr. Fulwood. "The problem is too many people in too small a space with too much booze and not enough police officers."



A SLIGHT HICCUP — Coca-Cola advertisements warn consumers that some "prize" cans may malfunction, top right; when working properly, money should pop out as indicated.

## AMERICAN TOPICS

### Farmers Cutting Back On Use of Chemicals

Midwestern farmers are reducing their use of chemical fertilizers, weed-killers and insecticides, the Los Angeles Times reports.

"I've been in this county 18 years, and I'm amazed at how many more conservation concerns there are today," said Dale Thompson, the state agricultural extension agent for Butler County, Iowa. "These people have to make a living off the land and they have to drink the water that's under it. They don't want to lose it up any more."

According to a survey by Iowa State College, 78 percent of Iowa farmers say that modern agriculture is too dependent on herbicides and insecticides.

"A lot of farmers out there know they're on the front line in terms of exposure," says Marty Strange, director of the Center for Rural Affairs, a Nebraska think tank. "And the more we know about these things the less they like them."

Many farmers are rediscovering the largely abandoned practices of crop rotation and manure spreading. The Iowa Fertilizer and Chemical Association says nitrogen fertilizer sales dropped more than 10 percent last year, although corn acreage increased by 10 percent.

### Short Takes

Coca-Cola's new \$100 million promotion, hiding prize coupons or \$1 to \$500 in cash in Coke cans filled with chlorinated water and foot-swalling ammonium sulfate to discourage drinking, may backfire. The snap-top cans can't be distinguished from real Coke until opened. The water, while less chlorinated than a swimming pool, could cause mild nausea and result in lawsuits, a number of lawyers say. A Massachusetts couple alerted state health authorities when their 11-year-old son drank some Coca-Cola took out TV and print ads saying that only a "very small number" of cans contained the liquid.

### Notes About People

Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist of the U.S. Supreme Court says he is amenable to a study of using television in lower federal courts. Courts in 44 states now use TV to varying degrees. Justice Rehnquist's stand could eventually mean televising Supreme Court proceedings. His predecessor, Warren E. Burger, who retired in 1986, said that would be allowed "over my dead body." Mr. Rehnquist has not addressed the possibility of TV in the Supreme Court, but a fellow justice, Anthony M. Kennedy, calls it "inevitable."

### Former Senator Barry Goldwater, a Republican, is donating \$500 to the re-election campaign of his fellow Arizonaan, Representative Mo Udall, a Democrat. Mr. Udall, 67, in the House since 1961, says this will be his last run for re-election. The Goldwaters and Udalls have long been friends in their home state. The Washington Post reports. Mr. Goldwater, 81, wrote, "I don't care if you keep this a secret or not. I've always supported you, and I think it's time this old Republican quit hiding behind the bush."

### Minutes after being ushered to his table in the no-smoking section of Washington's fancy Mule restaurant, Mike Hall of the Corn Producers Association found himself wretched in smoke. He summoned the owner to complain. It quickly developed that the restaurant was on fire. Nobody was hurt and damage was minor.

### Arthur Higbee

# U.S. Faults Prescription-Drug Testing

By Philip J. Hilts

WASHINGTON — Congressional investigators have found that more than half the new drugs approved for marketing in the United States have severe or fatal side effects not found in testing or not reported until years after the medications have been widely used.

A report to be released Tuesday by the General Accounting Office and already angrily disputed by the Food and Drug Administration and drug makers — is the first major study of how many drugs have serious side effects that appear only after the drugs are put on the market.

In preparing the report, the General Accounting Office, an investigative agency of Congress, reviewed all 198 drugs that were approved from 1976 to 1985 and

subsequently marketed for a substantial period. Of those, 102 drugs were found to have side effects serious enough to warrant withdrawal from the market or major changes in labels to account for the dangers.

Officials at the Food and Drug Administration assailed the report. Dr. Robert Temple, the chief of drug evaluation for the agency, called it "the worst piece of stuff ever to come out of there."

He said that the study had been intended to look at serious adverse drug reactions but that as many as 80 percent of the side effects classified as "serious" were unimportant or very rare. He blamed the accounting office's staff.

"It's garbage in and garbage out," Dr. Temple said.

Although the agency has made mistakes in approving drugs, he said, the number of errors has been

relatively small and "we think this system is the best in the world."

The Food and Drug Administration has for decades been under fire from industry, which argues that the agency takes far too long to approve new drugs, and from public-interest groups, which say it is not thorough enough in its reviews.

Before drugs can be sold in the United States, the makers must apply to the agency for permission to test them on humans, submit the test results to the agency and then apply for the right to sell the drugs.

Experts agree that the tests cannot detect all side effects. Because the testing is done in groups of people ranging from a few hundred to a few thousand, it will not be likely to find side effects that occur in, say, one person in 10,000.

The study counted as "serious" all those "adverse reactions that could lead to hospitalization, in-

creases in the length of hospitalization, severe or permanent disability, or death."

The reactions, whether in a small or large number of patients, have caused the Food and Drug Administration to withdraw drugs from the market, or to change their labels to add a warning, so that doctors might avoid their use or be careful in deciding who should use them.

Critics of the agency said it can take up to five years from the time a serious side effect is observed to the time that doctors and the public are told.

Representative Ted Weiss, a New York Democrat and the chairman of the House Government Operations subcommittee on human resources, said no one was certain how much the risks could be cut or how many people had been harmed.

# U.S. Blocks UN Inquiry Urged by Arafat

By Paul Lewis

GENEVA — In a development likely to heighten tensions at Monday's Arab summit meeting in Baghdad, the United States has blocked an attempt by the United Nations Security Council to send a mission to investigate the treatment of Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Security Council's failure to act meant that a session of the UN body, convened in Geneva to hear Yasser Arafat, ended on a pessimistic note.

The Security Council session was moved from New York to Geneva because of U.S. reluctance to issue a visa to Mr. Arafat.

Arabs complained that Mr. Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, had been sent away from Geneva empty-handed, and they warned that this would strengthen extremists at the Baghdad meeting.

"This is a difficult day for Arab moderates," the Arab League's UN representative, Clovis Makdoud, said after the Security Council session ended on Saturday.

"Israel has shown it still has a stranglehold on American policy," Mr. Makdoud said.

He predicted that the Arab summit would retaliate by adopting a more confrontational stance against the United States and Israel.

Speaking before the outcome of the Security Council meeting was clear, Mr. Arafat said that "a very explosive and dangerous situation" was building up in the occupied territories.

"I'm warning of war. I'm not threatening war," he said, adding "The Israelis say no to everything. They say no to peace, they say no to the Baker plan, they say no to a Security Council team."

A Western Security Council delegate, expressing a widespread mood of exasperation among council members, said, "How long can the United States go on taking its orders from Jerusalem like this?"

Arab countries called the Security Council meeting to seek UN protection for Palestinians living in the occupied territories. At least 15 Palestinians have been killed in clashes with Israeli forces in unrest sparked by the killing on May 20 of

seven Arab laborers by an apparently deranged Israeli civilian.

Mr. Arafat addressed the Security Council on Friday, calling for a UN observer team to monitor conditions in the occupied territories and for sanctions against Israel.

As a gesture of support, 14 of the Security Council's 15 members were ready to dispatch a small team to investigate Arab complaints and report to the Council in New York next week.

The U.S. representative, Thomas R. Pickering, told council members on Friday that the United States would try to secure Israel's acceptance of this plan.

But the Israeli deputy foreign minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, refused to accept any team sent by the Security Council, asserting this would infringe upon Israeli sovereignty.

On Saturday, the United States said it could no longer support the plan.

Mr. Netanyahu said that Israel might accept a fact-finding mission sent by the UN secretary-general, Javier Perez de Cuellar, as it did

when confronted by similar Arab complaints in 1988.

But the Arabs refused this, saying the secretary-general could order such an investigation any time at his own discretion. They wanted the stronger signal of international support the Security Council would show.

Arab diplomats were particularly disappointed because they believed they had struck an implicit bargain with the Bush administration that would allow it to support a Security Council investigation.

### Arab Leaders Gather

Arab kings, sheiks and presidents gathered Sunday in Baghdad seeking to curtail mass emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, the Associated Press reported from Baghdad.

At least 16 heads of state from the 21 countries that belong to the Arab League were scheduled to attend the conference. But President Hafez Assad of Syria, the archrival in the Arab world of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, declined to attend.

Mr. Assad is displeased that the

meeting is being held in Iraq. He has rebuffed intensive Arab efforts to persuade him to end his 11-year feud with Mr. Hussein in the interest of Arab unity.

"The summit will get under way with us unable to project even a semblance of unity," said an Arab diplomat.

Conference sources said that President Chadli Benjedid of Algeria and King Hassan II of Morocco also would not participate, but that they would send high-level delegations.

Mr. Arafat, an ally of Mr. Hussein, called for the meeting to discuss ways to counter the emigration of hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews to Israel.

The Arabs see the migration as a threat to Middle East peace efforts. They fear that many Soviet Jews will settle in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, which the Palestinians proclaimed their homeland in 1988.

Immigration officials said Sunday in Jerusalem that Israel expected the number of Soviet immigrants to increase to 20,000 each month starting this summer.

# Wary U.S. Ready for Tax Rise

By Michael Oreskes

NEW YORK — Americans overwhelmingly expect their federal taxes to go up to reduce the budget deficit, and they are grudgingly ready to accept some new taxes, a New York Times/CBS News Poll has found.

Conducted as President George Bush and congressional leaders began budget negotiations, last week's poll found the public more resistant to cuts in spending for Social Security, the environment and education than to various tax increases. Sixty-eight percent said they expected Mr. Bush to ask Congress to increase taxes.

If higher taxes are needed, about 80 percent said they would accept increased levies on beer and liquor and on upper-income taxpayers, the poll found in a nationwide telephone survey.

But in equally large numbers, the 1,140 adults said that if spending cuts were needed it was unacceptable to delay Social Security increases or to reduce funding for education or the environment.

By 2 to 1, Americans accept cuts in military spending.

Across-the-board spending cuts, which will take effect if the budget negotiators fail to reach an agreement that meets the goals set by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget-balancing law, were deemed acceptable by 41 percent of those polled, while 51 percent said they were unacceptable.

Americans' attitudes toward higher taxes remain ambivalent.

For example, 55 percent of those polled said they thought tax increases would be necessary to substantially reduce the deficit. But 57 percent, responding to a different question, thought Mr. Bush should not ask Congress to increase taxes.

Earlier Times/CBS News polls and other analysts of public opinion have found that at least part of the explanation for such contradictory views is that Americans believe substantial sums are wasted in Washington and they do not trust the government to spend new tax revenue properly.

The political problem becomes clearer when the actions Americans would support are considered in light of the \$50 billion in reduced spending or increased revenue, or both, that budget experts say is needed.

For example, 8 people in 10 said they approved of cuts in foreign aid, but even if the foreign aid budget were wiped out, it would save only about \$16 billion.

In any case, Mr. Bush is asking for an increase in foreign aid for the next budget year, which begins Oct. 1, so the United States can support emerging democracies in Central America and Eastern Europe.

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## INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

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# Clashes Kill 57 in Pakistan

## Police Implicated In Ethnic Flareup

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**HYDERABAD, Pakistan** — The government sent troops into Hyderabad and Karachi on Sunday after at least 57 persons were killed, many shot by the police, in one of the worst days of bloodshed in years of ethnic violence.

The death toll in Pakistan's two biggest southern cities in two days of violence was at least 80. The worst hit was Hyderabad, 175 kilometers (110 miles) north of Karachi, where 65 persons died over the weekend, including 40 that residents said were killed when the police opened fire Sunday on a crowd demanding food and water in areas that had been under a curfew for four days.

Another 15 persons were killed Sunday in Karachi, where at least three districts were put under a curfew, residents said.

It was the most serious violence in Sindh Province since a 1988 massacre of about 200 people by unidentified masked gunmen. Reports from hospitals put the death toll at up to 48. About 350 people have been wounded in two days of violence.

Eighteen people were killed in Karachi, making it one of the bloodiest days in four years of clashes between Muslim migrants from India, native Sindhis and settlers from other parts of Pakistan.

The witnesses in Hyderabad said that at least 20 women and two children were killed when the police opened fire on marchers as men shot at security forces or pelted them with stones.

About 200 women had taken to the streets carrying a child in one arm and holding copies of the Koran, the Islamic holy book, over their heads in a traditional sign of protest.

The women were demanding the withdrawal of the police from the districts.

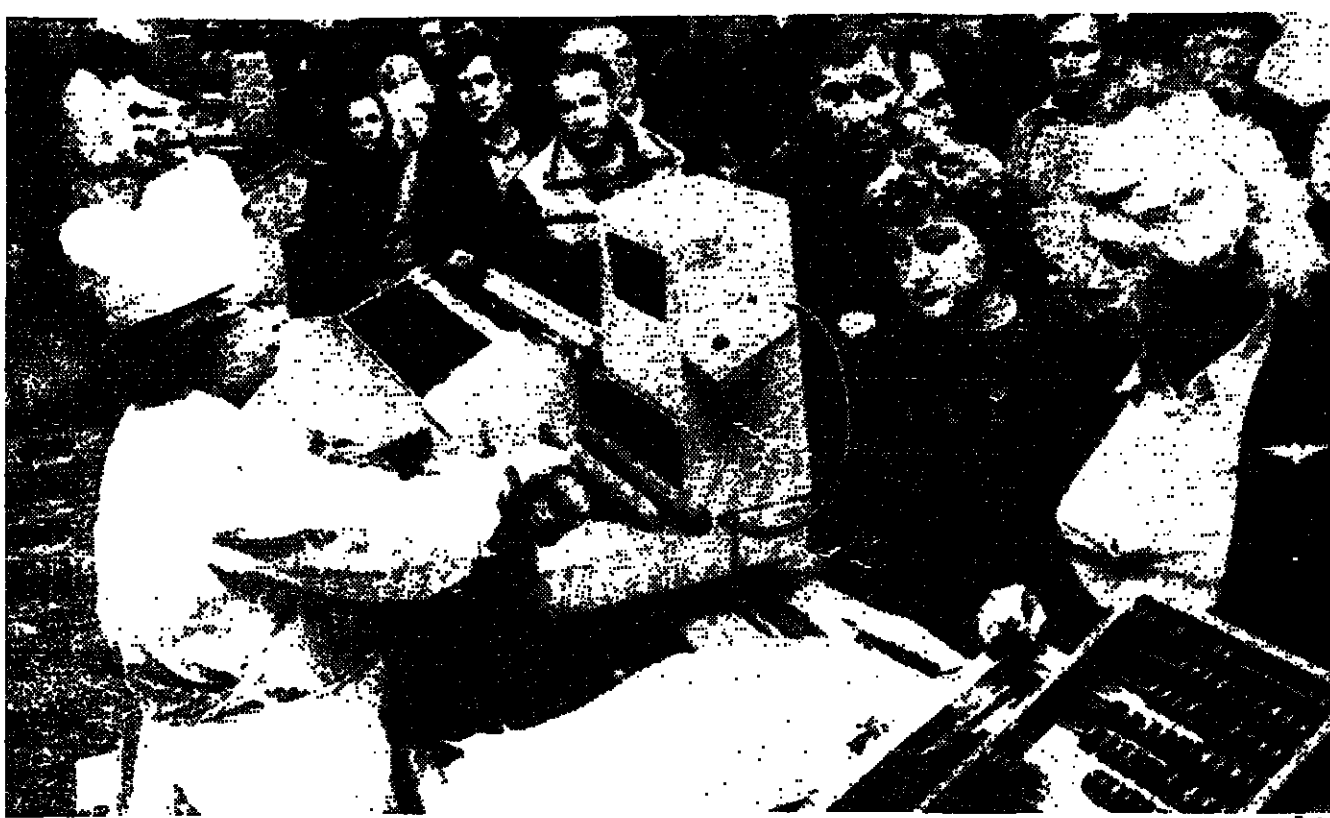
The violence followed two weeks of clashes between the Muhajir refugees from India and the Sindhis.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto told Sindh's provincial government on Friday that she was dissatisfied with its performance and ordered a crackdown to halt the disturbances.

Many of the most serious clashes in Hyderabad erupted when security forces sought to carry out orders to raid Muhajir areas to search for illegal weapons.

A spokesman for Miss Bhutto said gunmen were concealed among the protesting women and that the government was in a no-win situation.

The Muhajirs dominate the two cities, but the provincial government is controlled by largely Sindhi followers of Miss Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party. (Reuters, AFP)



Muscovites lining up to buy sausages on Sunday as panic buying continued following announcements of planned price increases.

## SOVIETS: Gorbachev Calls On Consumers to Halt Their Panic Buying

(Continued From Page 1)

stroy the cause of economic restructuring.

He accused opposition politicians of placing their personal ambitions ahead of the interests of the country.

The public backlash against the economic measures has created an unstable domestic political situation just as Mr. Gorbachev is preparing to depart for Canada and the United States for a summit

meeting with President George Bush.

Coal miners in the Ukraine have announced that they will consider a national strike on June 11 as a protest against the economic package.

Yet another political party was formed on the weekend, the Russian Democratic Party, in opposition to the Communist Party. Led by a former Communist, Nikolai Travkin, the Democrats have be-

come the first major party to denounce socialism as a goal.

"We want to return Russia to the civilized community of nations with rights for individual freedom and freedom of enterprise," said Georgi Khatsenkov, one of the leaders of the new party. "Our first aim is to get rid of the Communist Party."

The government's economic package was attacked by a leading Communist hard-liner, Ivan Polozkov, in an article for the party

newspaper, Pravda. Mr. Polozkov, who was the official Communist candidate for the presidency of the Russian Republic in inconclusive voting last week, said that most Soviet people were simply "not ready for the market."

In another sign of the times, state television screened Sunday the first appeal from an American televangelist, the Reverend Robert Harold Schuller. He appealed to Soviet citizens to look to God to deliver them from their sufferings.

## POWERS: Gorbachev Needs Proof That He Matters

(Continued From Page 1)

price increases and from market advocates who say the five-year transition program will take too long to dismantle central planning.

Lithuania is due to run out of oil any day as a result of a selective economic blockade imposed by Mr. Gorbachev to punish the republic's declaration of independence.

And his political nemesis, Boris N. Yeltsin, has mounted a strong challenge for control of the largest Soviet republic, Russia.

Even if Mr. Yeltsin falls short, the new Russian Parliament has shown a strong inclination to lessen the republic's subservience to Soviet economic and political managers.

"Yeltsin is a bigger problem for Gorbachev than Bush, because he's right here," said Leonid Gurevich, a journalist and a deputy from Murmansk, aptly summing up the priority list of Mr. Gorbachev's headaches.

Politically, Mr. Gorbachev has tried to hold a stable center as the country polarizes into rival camps of radical change and resistance.

Sergei A. Kovalyov, a close con-

fidant of the late human-rights campaigner Andrei D. Sakharov and now a member of the Russian Republic's parliament, contends that the Western reluctance to pressure Mr. Gorbachev on issues like Lithuania is shortsighted.

Without Western pressure, he said, the Soviet leader is free to appease hard-liners in the party and military, and in doing so he slips farther behind the public mood.

"Up to a certain point, Gorbachev's evolution inspired us to hope," Mr. Kovalyov said. "But he always acts too late. And I don't know whether he's capable of really learning, or only of adapting."

Just last fall, East German youths were chanting "Gorby! Gorby!" and hopeful democrats around the Eastern bloc saw him as their liberator and model.

Now the Soviet Union lags behind its former allies in political and economic daring, and some citizens here are beginning to bemoan the loss of the European order they feel that they won in World War II.

The polling data show that the Communist Party is blamed most of all for the country's crises but that people are also losing faith in

the newer institutions that Mr. Gorbachev has introduced to supplant the party, like the parliament, and in Mr. Gorbachev himself.

"As far as the leader's personal prestige is concerned, it is impossible not to see that its peak has been left behind, in the time of the cloudless hopes of the 'original perestroika,'" said Yuri Levada, a poll taker writing in Moscow News.

Those who call for Mr. Gorbachev to step down are a small minority, and those who see an available replacement are even fewer.

The critics' message to the West is not to abandon Mr. Gorbachev but not to let him off so easy.

"Well, all right, focus on Gorbachev," Mr. Kovalyov said. "But then force him to make the right steps. And don't forget everything he does with cries of hurrah."

"I think the tendency in the West now is to justify every obvious blunder of Gorbachev's by his difficult circumstances, by the fact that he's not free, and to rouse enthusiasm over every little step he makes in the right direction. I think Sakharov was right in saying that the best help for Gorbachev is constructive criticism."

## Unrest Slows U.S. Tourist Flow to Russia

New York Times Service

**WASHINGTON** — American tourists, who flocked to the Soviet Union in record numbers in 1988 and 1989, are thinking twice this year, travel companies and agents specializing in Soviet tours said.

Though Americans are still eager to witness the changes in Soviet society, tour operators said, they are wary of running into perestroika's unlovely off-spring — crime and ethnic unrest. Jay Schaffner, president of Anniversary Tours Inc., estimated that about 100,000 American tourists visited the Soviet Union this year, down from about 120,000 last year.

While tour operators said they had no sure way to measure the decline in the number of tourists and the size of tour groups, they think that the travel advisory about street crime issued earlier this year by the State Department, the reports of tension in the independence-minded Baltic states and the violence in the Caucasus have helped depress the market.

A continued increase in prices, which have nearly doubled over the last five years, has not helped, they said. "What's happened with this whole perestroika business is that every Soviet company is trying to make more hard currency than ever before," said Sidney Reiner, president of Cosmos Travel.

Racial and religious composition, however, seems to be a critical variable. While 800,000 Portuguese represent the biggest single national group, they are not viewed as a problem. Neither are Spaniards and Italians.

Rather, to most French people, the word *immigrant* means Turks, black Africans, Asians and, most of all, Arabs from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, former French colonies.

A foreign diplomat said he believed more than against race, many French are reacting specifically against the spread of Islam in the country.

Mr. Chapuis said people resent abrupt changes in their environment.

"You can't say the 30 percent who voted for the National Front here are racist, anti-Semitic, Nazi or fascist," he said. "It was a cry of alarm by fearful people who feel abandoned by the government."

## Gorbachev Hints at Flexibility Moscow Might Accept a Limited German Role in NATO

By Jim Hoagland

**WASHINGTON** — President Mikhail S. Gorbachev has flashed a hole card he may play at this week's Washington summit meeting by suggesting that the Soviet Union will accept a limited German membership in NATO in return for its withdrawal from the alliance's integrated military command.

The suggestion, made by Mr. Gorbachev in Moscow on Friday, is seen by Western diplomats as the start of a Soviet campaign to pressure a reunified Germany into following the so-called French model.

France remains a member of NATO politically but refuses to host foreign troops and does not submit combat units to NATO control.

The Bush administration has in recent weeks been pushing France to enhance its military cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to change the nature of the French model.

President George Bush in March proposed to President François Mitterrand that France end a 30-year refusal to admit foreign troops to French soil by agreeing to host U.S. fighter bombers being moved out of Spain, according to one authoritative account.

The three squadrons of F-16s are to move from Spain to Italy by 1992, but Congress is balky at putting up half of the \$700 million that building a new base for them in Italy will cost. Finding existing facilities in France where at least some of the F-16s could be stationed would also relieve budgetary problems for the White House.

Mr. Mitterrand agreed to consider the proposal, according to the account, without committing France to what would be a significant policy reversal.

U.S. officials have been encouraged by Mr. Mitterrand's not rejecting out of hand U.S. ideas on changing France's relationship to NATO, as past French leaders would have done.

But French officials say they would be astonished if Paris eventually agreed to the reported request on the F-16s. They portray French-U.S. conflict on NATO as likely to grow as the alliance sets about reinventing its 40-year-old structure and strategies.

While Washington sees NATO review as a chance to maintain U.S. leadership in European affairs through the 16-nation alliance, France wants a greatly strengthened European role to result from such a process, U.S. and European diplomats say.

The revamping of NATO to absorb a united Germany and recent dramatic changes in Eastern Europe will be the focus of Bush-Gorbachev conversations in Washington beginning Thursday, European and U.S. officials expect.

Mr. Gorbachev made such linkage explicit Friday by saying that Moscow would have to review its approach to East-West negotiations if a united Germany became a military member of NATO.

The tough talk may have been intended more for domestic consumption than to preface a threatening tone for the Washington discussions. His political and economic problems at home leave Mr. Gorbachev in a weak bargaining position; his signal that a deal

can be made on a reunified Germany's entry into NATO — even if it is not to the West's liking — may represent an offer that can be negotiated at the summit.

That Mr. Gorbachev voiced his tentative approval of the French model for a reunified Germany at a press conference with Mr. Mitterrand in Moscow will reinforce Western concern about France's attitude toward the major strategy review at a NATO summit in London July 5 and 6.

"Closer cooperation by the French with NATO is very important now, to strengthen our hand in negotiations concerning unification," a senior West German official said in Bonn several days before Mr. Gorbachev's remarks.

"It can help persuade the Soviets that they have nothing to gain from pursuing the French model," he said. "One of the most important things Mr. Bush can do at the summit is to keep the Soviets from taking positions on German unification that they will have to back down on, since they cannot block it."

But French officials voice irritation over U.S. attempts to revise NATO's mandate to include joint operations outside Europe and to consider issues like nuclear and ballistic missile proliferation in the Third World.

"We are ready to contribute to a long-term renewal of the framework of NATO," a French official said in Paris last week, "and American officials who understand that understand that we want to be helpful. But we will not contribute to instant reforms that give the impression something is being done about European security while letting it go down the drain."

## SUMMIT: German NATO Status Dominates Meeting

(Continued From Page 1)

said Sunday that it ruled out any alternative to maintaining NATO, including all Germany, as the matrix of Western security cooperation.

"The position we have is very firmly held and we're not going to come off of that position," James A. Baker 3d, the secretary of state, said on television Sunday.

Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, said in a separate interview that the Bush administration would not offer the Soviet Union more favorable trade relations until Moscow had enacted more liberal laws on emigration.

In talks Friday with President

François Mitterrand of France, Mr. Gorbachev reportedly reiterated Soviet complaints that East Germany's shift into NATO would move the balance of power in Europe against the Soviet Union to an unacceptable degree.

The Soviet leader went on to hint at the possibility of a nationalistic backlash by invoking the Versailles Treaty, the accord ending World War I in which the victors' harsh treatment of Germany has often been blamed for causing resentment and bitterness that helped bring Hitler to power.

As a compromise, Mr. Gorbachev reportedly suggested that all of a united Germany could belong

to the Western alliance, but remain outside NATO's integrated military command — a status similar to that of France since 1967.

The talks between Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Mitterrand were widely seen as a dress rehearsal for the Soviet position in talks this week in Washington in which Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Bush will meet from May 31 to June 3.

En route, Mr. Gorbachev will stop in Canada. The Canadian foreign minister, Joe Clark, in line with other Western leaders' efforts to find a formula for reassuring Soviet opinion about Western intentions, said that he would propose expanded consultations.

## CLASH: Soviet Troops Kill 6 in Armenian Capital

(Continued From Page 1)

ration of Armenian independence in 1918. Soviet troops occupied Armenia and neighboring Caucasian republics two years later.

Three days earlier, militants fired on soldiers at military checkpoints in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, a territory with a predominantly Armenian population inside Azerbaijan. According to Tass, one soldier and one assailant were killed in that incident.

More than 300 people have been killed in the Soviet Union in ethnic violence since the beginning of this

year, according to Interior Ministry figures. Most have died in the southern Transcaucasian region as a result of armed clashes between Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Soviet Interior Ministry forces.

Armenian and Azerbaijani activists stole large amounts of weapons from the security forces in January, when fighting flared up along the borders of the two republics. The central authorities responded by imposing martial law on the border areas and in the Azerbaijan capital, Baku, but have refrained from taking similar action in Yerevan.

The Armenian National Move-

ment, which is campaigning for the return of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia, has split into several factions over the past few months, each with an armed offshoot. Weapons in the hands of the nationalists include artillery, armored cars, and even a tank.

Tass said that the soldiers in Yerevan were exercising their right to use weapons in self-defense when they returned fire.

The political identity of the vigilantes was not disclosed, and Tass did not explain why the attackers had suffered heavier casualties than the army.

—MICHAEL DOBBS

## FRANCE: Talk Is of 'Colonization' as Anti-Immigrant Feeling Grows

(Continued From Page 1)

tion parties has blocked agreement on a new approach to the crisis. But on May 10, the desecration of 34 tombs in a Jewish cemetery in the southeastern town of Carpentras awakened France to the dangers of a surge of racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia.

Since then, the country has been consumed by self-analysis. The Socialist government of President François Mitterrand immediately began an offensive against the National Front and its leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, accusing them of inciting racial hatred and, implicitly, blaming them for profaning the old Jewish cemetery at Carpentras.

After months of hesitation, Prime Minister Michel Rocard also framed to seek the support of other opposition parties for a "minimal charter" that would both restrict the number of new immigrants and accelerate the integration of the 4.5 million foreigners already living in France.

Yet even now, many Frenchmen seem confused. For two weeks after the Carpentras desecration, the focus of attention was on anti-Semitism, past and present.

Desecrations of Jewish tombs occurred sporadically in the 1980s without gaining much publicity, but several new incidents, includ-

ing one in Chilly-sous-Bois, got headlines. Carpentras also revived uncomfortable memories of the Dreyfus affair, in which a Jewish army captain was wrongfully convicted of treason almost a century ago, and of the deportation of 127,000 French Jews to Nazi death camps in World War II.

Last week, Mr. Le Pen, who frequently makes disparaging remarks about Jews, was fined for describing the Holocaust as "a detail of history."

Yet while France's 740,000 Jews, the largest Jewish population in any Western European country, seem to have a low profile, their leaders caution against exaggeration.

"It would be wrong to generalize and say that everyone in France is anti-Semitic or that France is anti-Semitic or that anti-Semitism in France is of an important magnitude," said Jean Kahn, president of the umbrella group of Jewish organizations in France.

In contrast, racist statements and even physical violence against nonwhite immigrants are on the rise.

In recent months, several Arabs have been killed in crimes with racial overtones, and last week four French youths in Avignon grabbed a young African girl and cut off most of her hair.

Having been set in motion by Carpentras and the soul-searching about anti-Semitism, the national debate has now turned to the problem of racism and immigration.

At a political level, government and opposition groups have joined forces in trying to isolate Mr. Le Pen, with many municipal councils refusing the National Front permission to hold meetings in their jurisdiction. There are even calls for Mr. Le Pen to be banned from television and radio on the ground that he promotes racial intolerance.

New measures — ranging from deportation of undocumented aliens to restrictions on entry of new family members and political exiles — are also being proposed to control immigration, although the Socialists and their conservative opponents still seem more intent on blaming each other for the crisis than on finding a solution.

"All the governments of the past 20 years, Socialists and conservatives, share responsibility for the mess," a French businessman said. "They want to say it's all Le Pen's fault, but he is the consequence of their policies."

"They created the monster." More than in the newspaper columns or heated parliamentary debates of recent weeks, in fact, the roots of what some commentators have called France's sudden crisis of identity can be found wherever nonwhite immigrants are concentrated.

trated and the traditional French way of life is on the defensive.

The Interior Ministry estimates the number of legal immigrants at 4.5 million, or 8.1 percent of France's 55 million inhabitants, with perhaps another 1 million in the country illegally.

Foreign communities are largest in and around Paris and other industrial cities as well as along the Mediterranean coast.

Racial and religious composition, however, seems to be a critical variable. While 800,000 Portuguese represent the biggest single national group, they are not viewed as a problem. Neither are Spaniards and Italians.

Rather, to most French people, the word *immigrant* means Turks, black Africans, Asians and, most of all, Arabs from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, former French colonies.

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Mr. Chapuis said people resent abrupt changes in their environment.

"You can't say the 30 percent who voted for the National Front here are racist, anti-Semitic, Nazi or fascist," he said. "It was a cry of alarm by fearful people who feel abandoned by the government."

## Israel Jails Jew In Desecrations

Reuters

**JERUSALEM** — An Israeli court on Sunday jailed a religious Jew for three years after he confessed to desecrating some 300 Jewish graves in what he saw as an effort to unite Israelis against Arab and anti-Semitic threats.

A Haifa court gave David Goldner, a 41-year-old former computer engineer who recently turned religious, the maximum sentence for vandalism and dishonoring the dead. It added a one-year suspended sentence.

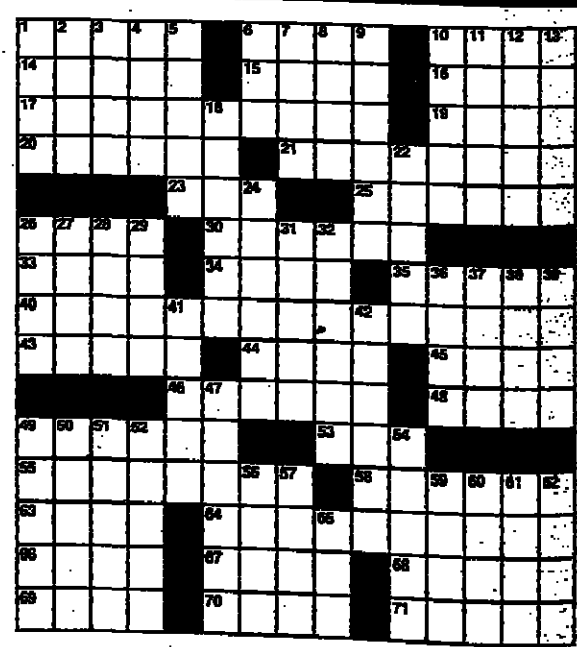
He said he was trying to arouse awareness of the threats to Israel's existence.

### ACROSS

- 1 Pats down
- 6 Wanes
- 10 Seaweed
- 14 Man of Artu
- 15 Small pipe
- 16 Port of entry in Pa
- 17 Locomotive pilot
- 19 Roller's home
- 20 Russian cart
- 21 Tot's vehicle
- 23 A "John Hancock": Abbr.
- 25 Jabbers
- 26 Brew ingredient
- 30 Satisfy
- 33 Glacial ridges
- 34 "...lend me your ...": Shale
- 35 Hofmann's specialty
- 40 Giving a snow job
- 43 Hopper of Hollywood
- 44 Copperfield's first wife
- 45 Gaelic
- 46 Usage
- 48 Proof of ownership
- 49 Holds back
- 53 Use a straw
- 55 Certain runners
- 58 Seed coverings
- 63 Algerian seaport
- 64 Prodigal's reward?
- 65 Luke 15:23
- 66 Homophone for run
- 67 Locale of Sevier Lake
- 68 Rout a sleeper
- 69 Pass receivers
- 70 Carson's guest host
- 71 Premiering and Harbach

### DOWN

- 1 Diplomacy
- 2 Tub plant
- 3 Cry
- 4 Brownish purple
- 5 Parties for men
- 6 And so forth: Abbr.
- 7 Thai corn
- 8 Rabbit
- 9 Airport runways
- 10 Nairobi is its capital
- 11 Upright
- 12 Kind of thread
- 13 "For — sake!"
- 18 Taiwan's capital
- 22 Island also called Candia
- 24 Endocrinologist's specialty
- 26 Clothes-closet culprit
- 27 "Off the Court" author
- 28 Fall from hogs
- 29 Trampled on
- 31 Cereal woe
- 32 Ballplayers at Houston
- 36 In one's bunk
- 37 Entice
- 38 Otherwise
- 39 Snow vehicle
- 41 Off one's rocker
- 42 Descendant of a son of Noah
- 47 Serviceable
- 49 Hag
- 50 Egret
- 51 Large antelope
- 52 Thrushes
- 54 A king of Aragon
- 55 Assess
- 57 Bandleader Kenyon
- 58 Edinburgh native
- 61 Too
- 62 News
- 65 My ..., town in Vietnam



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# Herald Tribune

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## Finish START Now

Presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev are poised to announce agreement in principle at their summit meeting this week in Washington on a vital treaty to reduce strategic nuclear arms. But that will not be possible if catering right-wing critics have their way.

"Sellout!" they cry, as if the reasonable compromises that Secretary of State James Baker recently made in Moscow sacrificed something essential. A bad deal, they claim, as if the only good deal were one in which the other side made all the concessions—in other words, no deal at all. These charges are inaccurate and misleading. The compromises made in Moscow and the pending proposals on both sides are reasonable and open the way for the first deep cuts ever in long-range nuclear weapons.

It has been 11 years since SALT-2 was signed. The present treaty, under negotiation for eight years, would cut strategic arsenals on both sides by a third and cut ballistic missile warheads by half. Within these agreed ceilings, the sides continue to bargain about land-based missiles with multiple warheads, and cruise missiles. Mr. Baker and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze settled most of these matters this month, much to the critics' dismay.

They concentrate their criticism on the SS-18, a multi-warhead missile. It is particularly worrisome because a single SS-18 can be armed with up to 10 nuclear warheads, each capable of destroying a U.S. missile. But this worry was eased two years ago when Moscow agreed to cut the number of SS-18s to 154 from 308. Now, former Reagan administration officials who rightly touted that as a

breakthrough want to ban them altogether. Barring that, they insist on limiting test launches to prevent improving the missile.

To eliminate the SS-18, Washington would have to give up its own 10-warhead missile, the MX. And winning constraints on Soviet missile testing would require the United States to limit its tests. Such reciprocity makes sense, but Mr. Bush won't trade.

The Soviets seek to ban or limit sea-launched cruise missiles, in which the United States has a substantial technological advantage, but the U.S. side expressed doubts about the verifiability of any limits. So the two sides now agree to declare the number of these missiles that they intend to deploy. Critics say the United States will abide by the limit but the Soviets won't. What they ignore is that the limit of 880 missiles is far higher than what Moscow sought.

The critics also accuse Mr. Baker of a sellout on air-launched cruise missiles. They should know better. The Soviets had a deal to limit nuclear-armed ALCMs with a range of 600 kilometers or more. Then the United States asked to exclude Tacit Rainbow, an 800-kilometer non-nuclear cruise missile under development. Moscow now agrees to this, after obtaining assurances that if a nuclear version is built, the bomber carrying it will be subject to START limits. The United States is not planning to build a nuclear version, so it is not giving up anything.

All these compromises allow the United States to lock in a START treaty, good by itself and good as a basis for further limits on powerful new missiles. The summit meeting this week is the place to finish the job.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Finally, Japan Regrets

Just hours before South Korea's president arrived in Japan, Japanese officials were meticulously explaining why it was out of the question for the emperor to satisfy insistent Korean requests that Japan finally apologize for its colonial aggression between 1910 and 1945. Welcoming President Roh Tae Woo, however, Emperor Akihito broke through decades of Japanese stiffness and arrogance and offered his country's first explicit apology for its imperial past. Japan's prime minister then pledged to ease the difficulties of affected Koreans, including the large resident alien population of children and grandchildren of Koreans brought involuntarily to Japan as slaves before World War II.

The emperor's words were more than a courtesy to a visitor. Japan's imperial depredations are still the stuff of deep emotion across Asia. Yet within Japan itself, recollections of colonial brutality have tended to fade into an impression that Japan was not so much aggressor as victim in a war that left the country devastated and alone. Textbooks, for instance, are notorious for stinging the subject. The prevailing amnesia has galvanized the actual victims of Japan's war machine, and the matter rested more or less uneasily for decades. But in recent years, as

Japan has reached beyond its own recovery for a larger regional economic and political role, a demand has been generated for a more generous and historically balanced response. Germany, which has taken major steps to come to terms with its Nazi past, is often cited as the relevant model.

In 1984, South Korea's then president visited Japan seeking an apology from the still-ruling Emperor Hirohito, in whose name the earlier colonization had been conducted. Hirohito said it was "regrettable that there was an unfortunate past between us"—words which met an unbecoming Japanese wish not to be seen to "kowtow" to South Korea and which left Koreans understandably resentful that no direct apology had been made.

Last Thursday, Hirohito's son Akihito took the plunge, acknowledging that Korea's sufferings had been "brought about by my country" and expressing "deepest regret." Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu added "sincere remorse and honest apologies" for Japanese actions which "inflicted unbearable suffering and sorrow on the people of the Korean Peninsula." They are brave and wise words, and they light a path to Japan's deeper reconciliation with its neighbors and itself.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Halfway in Romania

The party isn't over in Romania, where former Communists have managed to hang on to power in an election skewed against their underdog rivals. Yet a fairer campaign might well have had the same outcome, if by a smaller margin. The hated Ceausescu family was deposed last December in a violent coup that shook but did not dislodge the old ruling elite. The inertia bred by a Stalinist tyranny persists: rather than risk a clean break, Romanians voted for a regency.

Western democracies have been rightly skeptical about changes in Romania. The secret police are still in business, the difference being that Securitate agents now wear "Free Romania" arm bands. The ruling National Salvation Front commands prime time on television and hogs newsworthy for its own press. And, as Romanians warily realize, many of the new leaders were collaborators who saved their skins by swiftly executing the Ceausescus.

Given these circumstances, even the rudiments of a free, more normal existence count for something. President Ion Iliescu and his National Salvation Front insist that their aims are social democracy and entry

into the European Community. This will require more than marginally improving living standards in the poorest of the former Communist states. It means allowing real breathing room for internal opponents, reforming a failed and corrupt economy and dealing fairly with an aggrieved ethnic Hungarian minority. These are valid tests for European acceptance and American favor.

But account has to be taken of Romania's troubled, haunted past. Hungary's clean electoral break with communism followed years of evolutionary reforms. In Poland, a new regime hatched from the chrysalis of Solidarity. Czechoslovakia's democratic instincts and nonviolent temper made a gentle revolution possible. And the magnetic lure of West Germany proved mortal to Marxism in East Germany. Romania was a country apart, a prison run by a tyrant who sold Soviet secrets to Washington and vices to Jews. Because Nicolae Ceausescu was once seen as a useful maverick, Western governments paid too little heed to human rights in Romania. There is no reason to repeat that mistake.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Comment

### New Era for Korea and Japan

The summit between South Korea and Japan has begun to open a new era for both. Japan has expressed an apology for its past colonial rule. From 1910 to 1945, Japan colonized the Korean peninsula, inflicting significant damage on lives and property. There is no need to say that the mistakes thus taken are indeed grave. The new era begins with a candid admission of the past.

The tendency remains in some segments of Japanese society to extol the emperor to the heavens as people once did. This trend seems to give rise abroad to an image that Japan is as immature in democracy as ever.

—Asahi Shimbun (Tokyo).

The international situation is in flux, calling for timely and effective readjustment of foreign policy to meet the new requirements and challenges. Korea-Japan relations are also in need of improvement and renewal.

The apologetic and compensatory stance of Japan toward Korea should and could be proved by a consistent policy in the future. Specific words of apology are important. Actions to match them are more important.

Japan as an industrial giant is in a position to do more to redress the lopsided trade heavily in its favor and to increase technology transfers to help in the development of Korean industries.

The international policies of East Asia counts heavily on the initiative of Japan. Its attitude toward the Soviet Union and China is an important factor for regional stability and prosperity. Tokyo's policy toward Pyongyang should be calculated so as not to tip the balance of power on the Korean Peninsula against Seoul and disturb the security of Korea. Korea and Japan now ought to respond to the call for closer and productive cooperation in the unfolding era of the Asian and Pacific community.

—The Korea Herald (Seoul).

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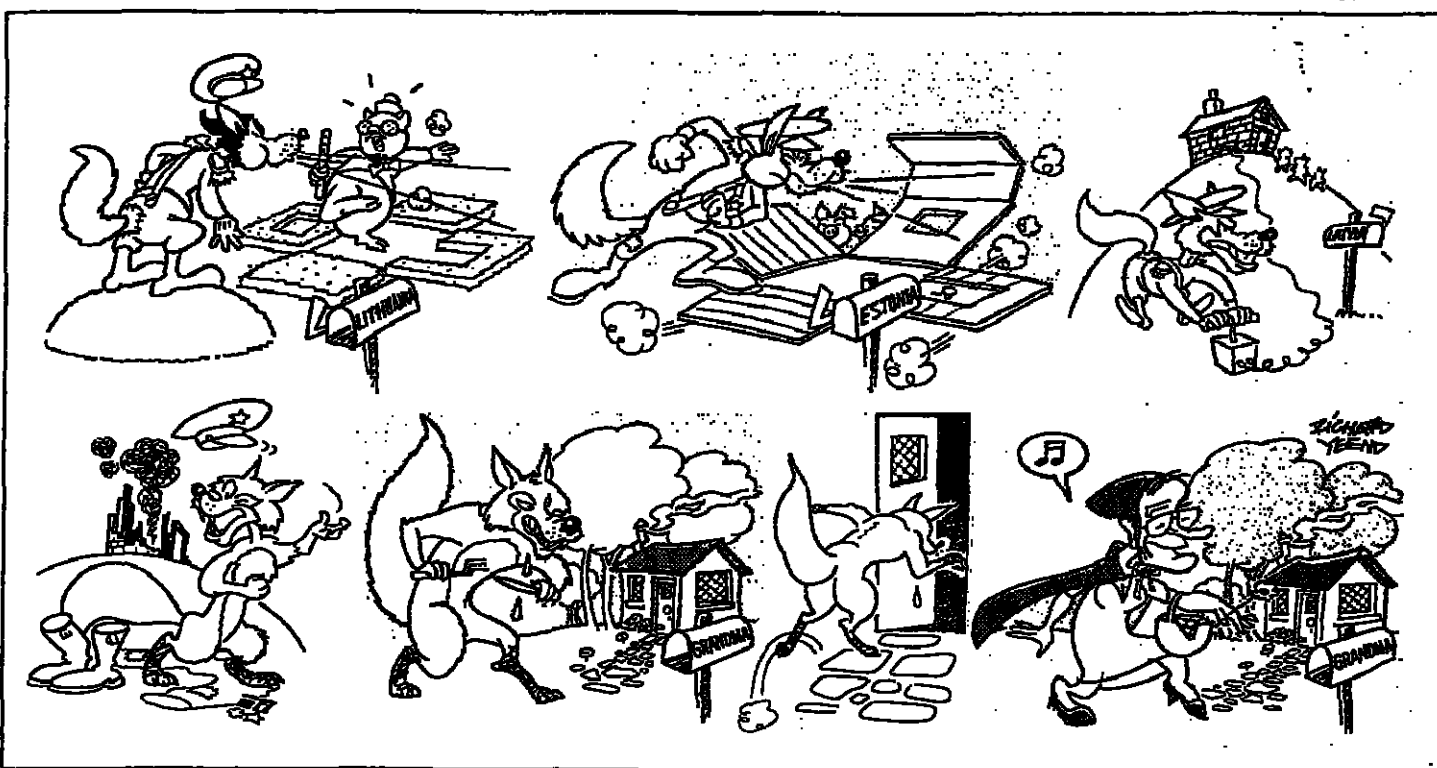
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## Summit: Eye on the Ground, Eye on the Horizon

By Flora Lewis

WASHINGTON — The customary deliberate doubt, so as not to risk bloated expectations from an imminent Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, is the current Washington sound. And there almost surely won't be the grand agreements on arms reductions that President George Bush optimistically anticipated last year. But this isn't because the intricate treaties have run into roadblocks. The big difference in the approach to Mikhail Gorbachev's sixth encounter with an American president is that the purpose has been vastly enlarged. When the two leaders meet, the central issue will no longer be just reducing tensions, although that is already turning the world around. It is how to move to a whole new basis for superpower relations in an international system that is leaving the Cold War behind.

Alexander Bessmertnykh, the new Soviet ambassador, has an interesting formula for testing the summit meeting's success. It is not the number of documents signed, he said in an interview, but whether Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev can part with each "sincerely convinced that relations are on the right track." That would "calm anxieties all around and leave each to focus on his domestic problems — Mr. Bush has some, too," he said with a laugh.

The couple of years ahead are a historical crossroads, as important to coming generations as the years immediately after World War II were to fixing the scene until now. There is a fluidity that will not last after the critical decisions are made on Germany, on Europe, on international security. As Mr. Bessmertnykh put it, "we all have to find our places in a new structure."

Moscow sees it as a "stage by stage" develop-

ment and worries that the Germans "are in too much of a hurry." He regrets that the West took a firm stand on including a united Germany in NATO instead of "sitting down and talking it over together," but he doesn't sound tough on this. The Soviet Union is not looking for parity in Europe, he said, but for "stability."

Obviously, the idea of parity between NATO and the Warsaw Pact has been swept away by the upheaval in Eastern Europe. But the Soviets fear being left out in the cold.

Mr. Gorbachev needs to take home to his people a sense that he has not given away the ramparts on which they were long told their security depended, but has traded an unsustainable order for new opportunities and a more reliable future.

This deserves American understanding. It is in America's interest. The more the Russians relax, the less they menace. The West Europeans see it, arguing that a settlement imposed at a time of Soviet weakness could lead to a German-type syndrome, as after the Versailles Treaty, an aggrieved, resentful nation dreaming of revenge.

The extent of the reversal of perceptions is highlighted in a tiny item in the news. A generation ago, when the West was distraught about a Soviet "master plan to take over the world," the Russians were claiming that they had invented practically everything and were inherently superior. Now, it is reported, they have invited Americans, from Anchorage, to teach them how to make sausages efficiently.

But there is no scheme yet for settling the Rus-

sians — and whatever peoples they retain in their Union — into an open world in a way that they and everybody else find comfortable.

Mr. Bessmertnykh complained that by "integration" the West seems to mean only Western integration, perhaps inviting some East Europeans to join Moscow in vague on its ideas, and emphasizes "process." He said it does not want to delay or obstruct German unity, but needs respect for Soviet rights and Lithuania is entitled to "independence and sovereignty" but through constitutional procedures. The key is transition.

On Germany, the outlines of an accord are emerging. Essentially, it will be economic, not only Bonn paying occupation costs to the Red Army in Germany in hard currency for a few years (imdbogging, but coming) but also Bonn honoring East Germany's trade agreements with Moscow. Demolishing the East bloc's complex trade system overnight would be disastrous, but transformation is expensive and will take time.

The United States is right to insist that NATO, embracing Germany, is needed as far ahead as the kaleidoscopic future can be seen. Moscow will have to get used to the idea, but it needs help in the form of guarantees. It would like to institutionalize them in the 35-nation Helsinki framework. The United States is opposed to abandoning a successful security system for paper, but it could afford to add some paper on longer-term goals.

The differences are not so great if the need for keeping an eye on the ground and on the horizon is kept in mind. Too much is at stake for one-eyed diplomacy, but the prospects are good.

The New York Times.

## Summit: Trumping Gorbachev's Weakness Card

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Mikhail Gorbachev steamed into Washington almost 30 months ago with the force of a locomotive, casting a strong beam of light through the dark of the Cold War. This week the Soviet leader returns, a flickering candle set at the edge of a gathering storm.

A sure sign that a leader is in serious trouble comes when he starts blaming his problems on the people. So it now is with Mr. Gorbachev. He gave his version of Jimmy Carter's "malaise" speech a few days ago, saddling the failure of his economic reforms on the conservatism and apathy of the populace. True, perhaps; but the Russian translation of "malaise" must have sounded no more convincing or appealing to his people than did the original delivered in American Georgian.

Mr. Gorbachev's weekly pattern of marching up the hill of free market reforms on Monday and marching down by Friday has created a shambles that dwarfs the mess of Mr. Carter's "stop and go" approach to inflation (and to everything else). The Soviet leader must also now account for the unintended consequences of a foreign policy that he has concocted — a la James Earl Carter: bold,

idealistic and totally uncoordinated. Weakness is the distinguishing trait of the 1990 Gorbachev, who arrives in Washington on Wednesday. He has little choice but to try to convert calamity into bargaining strength at the summit with President Bush. He arrives looking too weak to make more big concessions; movement will have to come from Mr. Bush, particularly on the thorny issues of German unification and conventional arms control.

This time, the appearance of desperation to entice concessions from President Bush or to consolidate the surprising sympathy that Mr. Gorbachev receives from the American public in the extended showdown with the Lithuanians. He looks vulnerable because he is vulnerable, at home and abroad.

No one is for him anymore. A leading Moscow intellectual and beneficiary of glasnost told me recently, "He will probably stay in place as leader because there is no clear alternative. But nobody is following where he is leading."

Moreover, Mr. Gorbachev's extraordinary foreign policy successes in changing the Soviet image abroad

and in ending the Soviet war on Afghanistan are now tarnished by the concern about the generals will affect the summit as well. Mr. Gorbachev will probably try to get Mr. Bush to endorse a joint statement committing the superpowers to keep unification from affecting the military balance in Europe. Mr. Bush will balk, not least because West Germany is urging him to avoid any statement that implies

U.S. agreement with the Soviet view that special limitations need to be put on German armed forces. On this and other points, the president is in the happy position of being urged by his European allies to do exactly what he intends to do anyway at this summit.

That is, Mr. Bush will undoubtedly express sympathy for Mr. Gorbachev's plight; agree to work out limitations on a united Germany's troop strength, but only as part of the NATO-Warsaw Pact talks in Vienna; and stand firm on unfettered German membership in NATO.

A year ago, Europeans would have been pushing Mr. Bush to "help" Mr. Gorbachev, but the tone is also changing in the West. Senior European officials and diplomats speak less today of helping Mr. Gorbachev and more of pursuing policies that will keep the Soviet Union actively engaged with the West through the storm ahead.

Unspoken but clear in such statements is the sense that it is important to plan for dealing with the Soviets in a post-Gorbachev era, should that become necessary. His fate is no longer the key question; the fate of the Soviet Union as a nation state is.

Mr. Gorbachev must face not only the generals when he gets back from Washington but also a vital Communist Party congress, set to last a marathon 10 days. He may also confront a popular referendum on the latest halfway economic changes, which his government could easily lose. In the Soviet system, however, there is no mechanism in place to bring forward a Ronald Reagan to make everybody feel better about themselves and make it morning in Moscow again. The choices seem to be more of the mess, or chaos.

Mr. Bush and his European allies have decided, rightly, that they cannot help Mr. Gorbachev past these tests by concessions for that purpose alone. This is one of those cases where the obvious solution is the best one: The deals at the summit have to have mutual benefits for both sides that go beyond Mr. Gorbachev's immediate fate. This is how Mr. Bush will prevent Mr. Gorbachev's weakness from turning into strength at Washington Summit II.

The Washington Post.

## Bush Runs Well in the Glasnost Race

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — Before we all swoon in admiration before Mikhail Gorbachev's undoubted skills as a communicator, let's tip the hat to the guy on the other side of the bargaining table, George Bush. Mr. Bush has made a significant contribution to glasnost, American style, by reviving the badly battered institution of the presidential news conference.

The session he held with White House reporters just before the Memorial Day weekend was the 50th of

*If we in the press cannot convert this access into greater public understanding of the issues, the failure is ours. Bush is doing his part.*

his term — a rate of better than one every 10 days that beats every president since Franklin D. Roosevelt. Astonishingly, Mr. Bush has had more news conferences in 17 months than Ronald Reagan held in eight years.

Not only are the news conferences more frequent, they are more substantive, more civil and more useful than those of the recent past. It's all tied together. Frequent news conferences permit reporters to explore a few topics in some depth. The agenda does not get overcrowded, nor is there nearly as much pressure on individual reporters to gain recognition from the president. They know there will be another day.

Mr. Bush deserves credit for reviving the news conference from the doldrums into which it fell in Jimmy Carter's final embattled years and throughout the Reagan terms. He accepted the suggestion from Harvard's Joan Shorenstein Barone Center for Press, Politics and Public Policy that

news conferences be workaday affairs, held in the White House briefing room, principally for the journalists who regularly cover the president. He has kept to a schedule far more frequent than the Barone panelists had the courage to suggest in the report we wrote before the 1988 election.

The shift from prime-time evening hours and the ornate East Room, where Mr. Reagan held court for an oversized press corps, has proved to be crucial in improving the quality of the exchanges. In the East Room, the jousting for recognition resounded with no end of controversy and had no theme or continuity.

In the briefing room, by contrast, the White House regulars — not forced to compete with celebrity journalists or publicity seekers — concentrate on gaining information for their stories, rather than getting attention for themselves. And a good deal of the time, Mr. Bush cooperates with them.

At the 50th news conference, for example, the president began with an announcement of his controversial decision to continue liberal trade policies with China despite its leaders' repression of dissent. He took four pointed questions on that topic. Without histrionics, reporters for The Associated Press and The Boston Globe put to the president the criticisms that others in the foreign policy world had made about the impact of his China policy on that country and on pro-democracy forces around the world.

The president offered his case. And that night on the network news and in the next morning's newspapers, his answers were juxtaposed with the contrary views of Chinese student exiles and Capitol Hill critics of both parties. The news conference exchanges became part of a broader dialogue.

Thanks to the brevity of the well-phrased questions and the president's readiness to respond, the half hour

allotted to the news conference permitted eight questions and answers on U.S.-Soviet relations and Mr. Gorbachev's handling of the Lithuanian independence movement, and five questions on taxes and the budget deficit negotiations — certainly the two most newsworthy topics on the Washington agenda. There were also pairs of questions and follow-ups on the savings and loan bailout, U.S. policy toward Israel and toward Cambodia, U.S. Mexican relations, the proposed ban on semiautomatic weapons and statehood for the District of Columbia.

In almost every instance, the president showed himself well-informed. He was ready to declare or reiterate a clear policy when he had one, and also willing to say that he was not ready to pronounce judgment on other issues which were still being negotiated with Congress or foreign governments.

As much as any politician can when speaking on the record, Mr. Bush shared his puzzlement and frustration at the obscurity and complexity of some of the tough problems that were raised. "It does cause discomfort," he said when asked about criticism of his policy toward Cambodia. And he was equally ready to concede that there is legitimacy to views other than his own in most of the other policy areas on which he was questioned.

His civility and the open-mindedness he displays in the briefing room drain the news conferences of any tension and lead some journalists to complain that Mr. Bush provides few headlines. Since he also disdains televised speeches, some reporters gripe that he is not making news.

That is a lot less important than the fact that he makes himself accessible for frequent questioning and lets the presidency become part of the political debate. If we in the press cannot find the means to convert this access into greater public understanding of the issues, the failure is ours. Mr. Bush is doing his part, and doing it well.

The Washington Post.

## Detering The League Of Terror

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — The presidential commission on terrorism in the air has turned in a report that is clear, thoughtful, brave and of commanding importance. Therefore the likelihood is that the Bush administration will try to shove it into oblivion as fast as possible.

That is not intended as cynicism. It is an inventory of something very much in style these days in Washington — pragmatism.

The report centers on the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 and the 270 lives lost in that act of mass murder. But its conclusions go to the heart of terrorism and how to fight it with a policy of retaliation against the "League of Terror," the governments that sponsor the murder gangs.

In the last five years alone, terrorist attacks against planes of half a dozen countries have killed 1,050 people. No country has taken retaliatory action. Bush administration "pragmatism" on terrorism has meant doing nothing against the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, General Command, the gang that blew up Pan Am 103, or its masters, Syria and Iran.

Nothing — yet the U.S. government knew almost from the start that Iran paid and dispatched the killers, that Syria gives them safe haven and that Libya supplies the murder gangs of the world with the special plastic explosive that destroyed Pan Am 103.

It is hard to think of anything the administration has done publicly to fight terrorism stronger than saying thank you, thank you Syria and Iran, for any and every mercy they might throw us from time to time.

The report is full of criticism of its security, the government's and Pan Am's — and has a long list of security recommendations. But in its analysis of terrorism and its policy for action, it has special importance going even beyond the tragedy of Pan Am 103.

The essentials of the analysis: The victim world lurches from terrorist attack to attack, always caught without response strategy. Terrorism remains a deadly weapon of the weak and cowardly, cheap and effective enough to change the policies of major countries. Once it was the isolated acts of individuals. Now it is state-sponsored acts of war and aggression.

The essentials of the policy proposals against terrorism:

Zero tolerance. The United States must take leadership. The American public must show and exercise a national will to fight terrorism and support government action. Retaliation must be threatened and carried out, retaliation graded upward from political and diplomatic to economic to military attack against terrorist targets in the League of Terror states.

"The commission finds unacceptable the idea of holding ourselves in all cases to a criminal standard of proof before we act... The U.S. must be ready to view some terrorist attacks as a matter of security or as an act of aggression."

The president appointed the commission because of the determination of people who would not surrender — relatives of the Pan Am 103 victims. It turned out to be a runaway commission, polite but independent. It told the president the truth, knowing that it would not appeal to him.

It was headed by Ann McLaughlin, a former secretary of labor, a strong leader. Other members were Representatives John P. Hammerschmidt, a Republican of Arkansas, and James L. Oberstar, a Democrat of Minnesota; former Secretary of the Navy Edward Hidalgo; Thomas C. Rickman, a retired air force general; and two senators, Frank Lautenberg, Democrat of New Jersey, and Alfonse D'Amato, Republican of New York, who by his commission service earns debasing for voting to uphold a presidential veto of a bill protecting Chinese students.

Since the commission's most important recommendation is to make sure that the terrorist states know they will pay a price, it carries a never-stated but implicit criticism of the existing do-nothing policy.

So what seems to await the report is a deep file drawer somewhere in the Executive Offices. But if a policy of retaliation is not announced as a preventive warning, and another American passenger plane is blown into scraps of metal and flesh, this report will creep out of that drawer to haunt the administration.

So it is just possible, given enough public and congressional courage now, that the administration will have to take account of the report and its plan words on terrorism.

We have that hope, thanks to the McLaughlin commission, which is better than what we have had so far — pragmatically, nothing.

The New York Times.

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1890: Universal Suffrage

MADRID — As was expected, the Senate this afternoon (May 27) approved the report of the mixed committee of Senators and Deputies in favor of a universal suffrage law. There is great rejoicing in Liberal and Republican circles and journals.

### 1915: Italy 'Successful'

LONDON — Despatches from Rome state that Italy is overjoyed at the gratifying initial success of the Italian army, which, having crossed the Austrian frontier at a number of points, is now in possession of several naturally strong positions from the Swiss border to the Adriatic. The Geneva correspondent of the "Daily Express" telegraphs that Archduke Eugene has asked Emperor Francis Joseph to place him at the head of the Austrian army acting against Italy. This proves that all idea of offensive action against Serbia has been abandoned since the entrance of Italy into the war.

### 1940: Fighting Intense

PARIS — Intensity of fighting — the worst since Verdun, it was said — marked the war yesterday (May 27). The Germans were reported to have crossed the Lys River, last natural obstacle between the Allies and Ostend and Zebrugghe. The Allies admitted a furious battle near Menin, twelve miles east of Ypres. The British insisted that the line was intact, their infantry and French tanks resisting. Pushing northward from Boulogne, the Germans met desperate defense in the region of Calais. At Aire, halfway between Boulogne and Lille, the British beat off the invaders. The French admitted a strategic withdrawal behind the Scheldt River in the Valenciennes sector. They strengthened their position on the Somme. German units that pushed northward up the Channel coast were believed in a position to harass the Allies' rear. The British and French Air Forces claimed 109 German planes in air battles over Dunkirk and Calais on Sunday (May 26).



## Genscher Seeks New Atlantic Ties

By John M. Goshko

WASHINGTON — The West German foreign minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher, has called for the United States, Canada and the 12 nations of the European Community to form a "new trans-Atlantic partnership" bolstered by a treaty to complete the work of ending East-West divisions in Europe.

"I call for a solemn joint declaration on this new trans-Atlantic partnership," Mr. Genscher told graduates of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, which awarded him an honorary doctorate. "This declaration must embrace the political, economic, ecological, technological and cultural aspects of relations linking the United States and Canada with the European Community."

He said that a declaration must be followed by a European-American treaty and that both "must contribute to the formation of one Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and pave the way for cooperation between North America and the new democracies in Europe."

He did not go beyond this broad outline. But he put his appeal in the context of describing the Community's move toward political and monetary union in 1992. That was an indication that he envisions the first stage of his proposal as a way of preventing the reification of Germany from causing strains in relations between the United States and its European allies.

"The Atlantic must not grow wider as a result of European unification," he said. "We must establish a framework for consultation and action for the new trans-Atlantic partnership."

"Other important European institutions, such as the European Parliament and the Council of Europe, should also seek new forms of dialogue and cooperation with our American partners."

**Violence in East Germany**  
Hundreds of hoodlums went on a rampage through East Berlin and Dresden over the weekend, wielding chains and smashing cars after the East German soccer league championship ended, wire services reported.

The police said they had arrested 40 people and confiscated weapons including knives, batons and chains in the two cities on Saturday night.

In East Berlin about 300 people smashed windows, damaged cars and overturned a minibus.

In Dresden, about 250 fans destroyed a beer stand, and during the match itself, rival supporters threw stones at each other, injuring

stewards and spectators. The police reported no serious injuries.

In other developments:

• East Germany will double rents next year as a first step toward abolishing state subsidies on housing, the construction minister, Axel Viehweger, said. He told the West German newspaper Berliner Morgenpost that he was also preparing legislation to transfer control of housing from the central government to local councils or private buyers.

• Some of the 15,000 Mozambican migrant workers who have lost jobs as East Germany moves toward a free-market economy will be sent home, the Mozambican agency AIM said Saturday. Almut Berger, the East German secretary of state for foreign nationals, was quoted as saying that the workers would be compensated.

• Poles will be required to have visas to visit West Berlin beginning on July 1, in an attempt by the authorities to curb the black market. Berliner Morgenpost said the West Berlin authorities, the government in Bonn and the Western allies had agreed on the requirement. The paper said the authorities blamed Polish visitors for the growing black market. (Reuters, AP)



**SQUATTERS' FOUR-YEAR STAY IS ENDED** — A policeman arresting one of more than 100 squatters evicted Sunday from an office complex in Groningen, Netherlands. They had occupied the complex for more than four years, and noted Saturday after a court ordered them out.

## In East Asia, Mistrust of Moscow Eases

By Michael Richardson

JAKARTA — As economic problems force the Soviet Union to retract its military presence in Southeast Asia, staunchly anti-Communist nations in the region are shedding their mistrust of Moscow and welcoming Soviet offers of expanded economic and political cooperation, officials say.

Moscow, however, faces difficulties. While the political profile of the Soviet Union has become more acceptable, market-oriented countries in East Asia find that its still dominant state-trade practices, shoddy goods and services and slow payment are major barriers to closer ties.

The Soviet Union is no longer seen as a threat, but "as a potential buyer and economic partner," Indonesia's trade minister, Arifin M. Siregar, said in a recent interview. But he added that confusion stemming from Soviet economic reorganization made it "more difficult to trade with the Soviet Union now than before."

Abu Hassan Omar, Malaysia's foreign minister, said recently that withdrawal earlier this year of Sovi-

et forces stationed in Vietnam had paved the way for the Soviet Union to integrate into the Asia-Pacific region as "a normal power."

But analysts say that Moscow will have difficulties in its quest for closer political relations with the region while its trade and investment remain only a fraction of that of Japan and the United States.

Diplomats said that the Soviet Union had unsuccessfully tried to join Japan, the United States, Australia and New Zealand for an annual meeting in Jakarta in July with foreign ministers of the Association of South East Asian Nations. ASEAN links Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei.

Moscow has also sought admission to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum, which will hold its second conference at the ministerial level in Singapore at the end of July.

Officials said that both overtures had been politely rebuffed on the ground that Soviet economic ties with the region were not yet strong enough to warrant inclusion.

Gareth Evans, Australia's minister for foreign affairs and trade, said that if Soviet economic links with countries in the Asia-Pacific grew, "then I certainly think there will be a place in these arrangements for the Soviet Union."

But he added that this would probably take "years rather than months."

Analysts said that the radical change in the ASEAN leaders' perception of the Soviet Union had occurred in the last six months as Communist regimes collapsed in Eastern Europe, partly as a result of political changes and a policy of nonintervention adopted by President Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

They said that Moscow's turn toward defense in military doctrine, its withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan, diplomatic efforts to bring about a resolution of regional conflicts like that in Cambodia and expected cuts in Soviet military aid to Vietnam over the next few years had also contributed to a more benevolent Soviet image.

When Prime Minister Nikolai I. Ryukov visited Thailand, Australia and Singapore in February, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singa-

pore said, "We have watched with awe and amazement how the new political thinking has brought down barriers in Europe, barriers which seemed destined to last forever."

Mr. Lee, one of the toughest anti-Communists among ASEAN leaders, said that as Moscow translated its new political thinking into policy, "we look forward to the Soviet Union participating in the rapid growth of this region."

Speaking in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, earlier this month, Mr. Abu Hassan said that restructuring pursued by Mr. Gorbachev had "profoundly altered the very way we now perceive the Soviet Union."

He said that as "an Asian power with legitimate interests in the area," the Soviet Union would retain some forces in the region.

"I do not see this as being particularly threatening," he said.

## Romanians Try Son of Ceausescu In Violence

By Chuck Sudetic

SIBIU, Romania — The son and heir apparent of Romania's ousted Communist dictator went on trial before a military tribunal here on charges of ordering forces to fire on unarmed demonstrators in Sibiu's main square in December.

From a makeshift dock on the orchestra level of a theater, Nicu Ceausescu, 39, looked up at the special prosecutor and the five judges on the stage and told them that he did not order a random slaughter.

"I want to be well understood," Mr. Ceausescu said, "I meant that in an exceptional situation to use weapons, but it was not my intention that weapons be used against the population in Sibiu."

When later asked directly whether he ordered security troops to open fire, Mr. Ceausescu said, "I can't remember if I gave such an order or not."

The prosecutor said that former local security officials, including the deputy chief of police, denied that Mr. Ceausescu ordered the security troops to fire.

The prosecutor argued, however, that these statements were attempts to clear Mr. Ceausescu, who headed the local party organization from 1987 until December.

The prosecutor said 89 people died and more than 200 were wounded on Dec. 21 and 22 in a police offensive ordered by Mr. Ceausescu in this industrial town in the foothills of the Carpathians.

The youngest child of President Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, Nicu Ceausescu is the first family member to stand trial since the secret trial and execution of his parents on Christmas Day.

If found guilty, he could face a life sentence. Romania's interim government abolished capital punishment after Mr. Ceausescu's parents were executed.

A reputed womanizer, gambler and heavy drinker with a passion for fast cars, Mr. Ceausescu was being groomed to succeed his parents and prolong a Communist dynasty.

Mr. Ceausescu told the tribunal that he did not understand the popular nature of the demonstrations in Timisoara that touched off the revolution until he saw an Italian television report that he picked up through his satellite dish at home on Dec. 20.

President Ceausescu's other son, Valentin, 42, and a daughter, Zoia, 41, are both in custody and under investigation.



Ivan Polozkov, Boris Yeltsin's main rival for the presidency of the Russian republic, after Saturday's inconclusive congressional vote.

## Yeltsin Asks Showdown On Russian Presidency

By Michael Dobbs

MOSCOW — Boris N. Yeltsin failed to win a majority in voting for president of the Soviet Union's largest republic, and afterward called for direct elections for the post to break a deadlock between his supporters and Communist Party loyalists in the new Russian Congress.

Mr. Yeltsin, the former Moscow party chief and an outspoken critic of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev since he was dropped from the Soviet leadership two years ago, topped the ballot in two rounds of inconclusive congressional voting. He received 503 votes in the second round, leaving him 28 short of the required majority of the 1,060 republican deputies.

The setback in Mr. Yeltsin's quest for the Russian presidency doubtless is a relief to Mr. Gorbachev, who had campaigned hard against his election. The Soviet leader had openly backed the candidacy of Alexander V. Vlasov, a senior party official who withdrew from the race on Friday when it became clear that he could not win.

"If the parliament cannot decide, the decision must be made by the people," Mr. Yeltsin said after Saturday's vote. "Let the people say that in a month there should be an election for chairman or president of Russia."

The stalemate in the congress, a product of public debate once unheard of in the Soviet Union, reflects the increasing difficulties the

Communist leadership is having imposing its will.

The presidency of the Russia, which is larger than all the other 14 Soviet republics put together, would provide an invaluable power base for any ambitious politician. Mr. Yeltsin campaigned on a platform of political and economic autonomy for Russia, provoking Mr. Gorbachev to accuse him of working toward "the breakup of the Soviet Union."

Mr. Yeltsin's official opponent in the two rounds of balloting was a party hard-liner, Ivan Polozkov, who appears to have been the stalking horse for a more acceptable candidate. Most deputies expect that Mr. Polozkov will withdraw in the obligatory new nominations. Another round of voting has been scheduled for Monday.

To be elected by the congress, Mr. Yeltsin must strike a deal with the party apparatus on a distribution of posts in the republic's new administration. It is conceivable that he may persuade some party moderates to vote for him as president if he agrees to appoint one of them prime minister.

"Politically, it would make sense for Gorbachev and Yeltsin to agree on a common political platform," said Evgeni Ambartsumov, a political scientist and progressive deputy. "Making an alliance with Yeltsin would give Gorbachev popular legitimacy and contribute to a national consensus for his economic reform program. Unfortunately, their conflict has become very personal."

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# THE U.S. & EUROPE: CONFLICT, COOPERATION OR CRISIS?

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EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF AMERICAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE  
PARIS, JUNE 13 - 15, 1990

## JUNE 13

20.00 DINNER  
Guest Speaker: Michel Rocard, Prime Minister of France

## JUNE 14

09.00 CHAIRMAN'S OPENING REMARKS  
John F. Crawford, President, European Council of American Chambers of Commerce  
Lee W. Huebner, Publisher, International Herald Tribune

09.15 U.S. KEYNOTE ADDRESS  
Roger Porter, Special Assistant to the President for Economic & Domestic Affairs, Washington DC

10.00 U.S.-EUROPEAN TRADE RELATIONS: THE OPPORTUNITY FOR EXPANSION  
Edith Cresson, Minister of European Affairs, France  
Ambassador Thomas M. Niles, U.S. Representative to the EC

11.00 Coffee

11.30 THE U.S. AND EUROPE: AN INDUSTRY RESPONSE  
Percy Barneville, President & Chief Executive Officer, Asea Brown Boveri Ltd  
Henri Martre, Chairman & Chief Executive Officer, Aerospatiale

David E. McKinney, Chief Executive Officer, IBM World Trade Europe/Middle East/Africa Corporation

13.00 Lunch

EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE  
Jacques Chabon-Delmas, Mayor of Bordeaux, Former Prime Minister, France

15.00 EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION  
Jacques de Larosière, Governor, Banque de France  
The Rt Hon Sir Michael Palleser, Chairman, Samuel Montagu & Co Ltd

Mario Conde, Chairman, Banco Espanol de Credito

16.45 TRADE AND INVESTMENT FLOWS: WHERE ARE THEY GOING?  
Robert D. Hormats, Vice Chairman, Goldman, Sachs Int'l  
H. Onno Ruding, Former Finance Minister, The Netherlands

18.00 Cocktails

## JUNE 15

09.00 THE U.S., EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SINGLE MARKET  
Vaclav Klaus, Minister of Finance, Czechoslovakia  
Hans Tietmeyer, Member of the Board, Deutsche Bundesbank

Georg S. Soros, President, Soros Fund Management  
Otto Wolf von Amerongen, Chairman, Deutsche Industrie und Handelstsz

11.00 Coffee

11.30 STRATEGIES FOR THE NEW SOCIAL EUROPE  
Gavin H. Laird, General Secretary, Amalgamated Engineering Union, UK  
Vasso Papandreu, Commissioner for Industrial Relations and Social Affairs, EC

François Perigot, President, Conseil National du Patronat Français

12.45 Lunch

EC-U.S. 1992: THE WAY AHEAD  
The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe, MP, Deputy Prime Minister, UK

14.45 THE OUTLOOK FOR TRADE RELATIONS AND INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION  
Renato Ruggiero, Minister for Foreign Trade, Italy

15.15 THE OUTLOOK FOR INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION: A CORPORATE PERSPECTIVE  
Vittorio Cassoni, Group Managing Director, Ing C. Olivetti SpA  
Chief Executive Officer, Major U.S. Corporation

16.15 A JAPANESE VIEW OF U.S.-EUROPEAN RELATIONS  
Hisashi Owada, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan

16.45 VALEDICTORY REMARKS  
The Rt Hon Dr David Owen, MP, Leader, SDP, UK

17.15 Close of Conference

Moderators:  
Harry L. Freeman, President, The Freeman Company, Washington DC

Axel Krause, Corporate Editor, International Herald Tribune  
Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Former U.S. Senator  
William Pfaff, Author and International Herald Tribune Syndicated Columnist

Ambassador Edward Streator, President, American Chamber of Commerce (UK)

The conference has been organized with the participation of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Centennial Foundation.

**REGISTRATION INFORMATION:** The fee for the conference is US\$1,200.00. This includes the opening dinner, all lunches, cocktails and conference documentation. Fees are payable in advance and will be returned less a US\$ 100.00 administration charge for any cancellation received in writing on or before May 30. We regret that there can be no refund should you cancel after May 30. Substitutions can be made at any time. Simultaneous English/French/French/English translation will be available throughout the conference.

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Figures as of close of trading Friday, May 25.

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Amex 100	100.00	100.00	Amex 100	100.00	100.00
Amex 200	200.00	200.00	Amex 200	200.00	200.00
Amex 300	300.00	300.00	Amex 300	300.00	300.00
Amex 400	400.00	400.00	Amex 400	400.00	400.00
Amex 500	500.00	500.00	Amex 500	500.00	500.00
Amex 600	600.00	600.00	Amex 600	600.00	600.00
Amex 700	700.00	700.00	Amex 700	700.00	700.00
Amex 800	800.00	800.00	Amex 800	800.00	800.00
Amex 900	900.00	900.00	Amex 900	900.00	900.00
Amex 1000	1000.00	1000.00	Amex 1000	1000.00	1000.00
Amex 1100	1100.00	1100.00	Amex 1100	1100.00	1100.00
Amex 1200	1200.00	1200.00	Amex 1200	1200.00	1200.00
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Amex 1900	1900.00	1900.00	Amex 1900	1900.00	1900.00
Amex 2000	2000.00	2000.00	Amex 2000	2000.00	2000.00
Amex 2100	2100.00	2100.00	Amex 2100	2100.00	2100.00
Amex 2200	2200.00	2200.00	Amex 2200	2200.00	2200.00
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Amex 7200	7200.00	7200.00	Amex 7200	7200.00	7200.00
Amex 7300	7300.00	7300.00	Amex 7300	7300.00	7300.00
Amex 7400	7400.00	7400.00	Amex 7400	7400.00	7400.00
Amex 7500	7500.00	7500.00	Amex 7500	7500.00	7500.00
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Amex 8600	8600.00	8600.00	Amex 8600	8600.00	8600.00
Amex 8700	8700.00	8700.00	Amex 8700	8700.00	8700.00
Amex 8800	8800.00	8800.00	Amex 8800	8800.00	8800.00
Amex 8900	8900.00	8900.00	Amex 8900	8900.00	8900.00
Amex 9000	9000.00	9000.00	Amex 9000	9000.00	9000.00
Amex 9100	9100.00	9100.00	Amex 9100	9100.00	9100.00
Amex 9200	9200.00	9200.00	Amex 9200	9200.00	9200.00
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## MONDAY SPORTS

## French Open: Clay-Court Showcase of Tennis

By Nick Stout

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Take six of the top 20 players out of the French Open and what is left? A highly competitive and unpredictable two weeks of tennis at the world's premier clay-court championships, which begin Monday.

The most conspicuous absentee, of course, is Ivan Lendl, who, in spite of his pronounced passion for the Grand Slam tournaments, is passing up this one to concentrate on Wimbledon, the one he has never won. By skipping Paris, he puts his No. 1 ranking on the line; either Boris Becker or Stefan Edberg could overtake him by winning here.

With John McEnroe, Brad Gilbert and Mats Wilander among those also staying away, the outcome, in the men's field at least, is anybody's guess.

Michael Chang, the American teenager who so charmed the spectators here a year ago en route to the championship, has had a sorry spring. He insists that his December hip injury is now history, but in three preparation tournaments Chang failed to win a match.

He enters the tournament seeded No. 11 and would have to get by Andre Agassi and the top-seeded Edberg to reach the final.

Much more promising prospects, it seems, are Thomas Muster of Austria, the No. 7 seed, and Andrei Chesnokov, a Soviet seeded eighth. These two have faced off against each other in two finals already this spring. Chesnokov beat Muster for the championship at Monte Carlo and Muster later won the final at Rome. The Italian championship was one of five titles for Muster this spring.

Becker, the No. 2 seed, may be a star at Wimbledon and Flushing Meadows, but he has yet to make it past the semifinals in Paris. In fact, for all his triumphs, he has never won a clay-court title. Edberg's only clay-court victory was in a minor tournament, so nothing should be taken for granted.

Agassi, ranked No. 5 in the world and seeded third here, may have a better shot at the championship than anyone. He has beaten both Edberg and Becker already this year, and he has better groundstrokes, indispensable on clay, than either of the top two seeds.

As for the women's tournament, recent events have narrowed the focus to the top two seeds: Steffi Graf and Monica Seles.

Seles, the 16-year-old Yugoslav who stole the show here a year ago when she sailed into the semifinals and took Graf to three sets before being defeated, comes into the 1990 event with a string of five tournament victories in which she has not dropped a set. Her most recent triumph, a 6-4, 6-3 victory over Graf in West Berlin, ended Graf's winning streak at 66 matches. Until last Sunday, Graf had not lost a match since Arantxa Sanchez Vicario beat her for the French title last June.

The upset is that Seles comes back to Paris ranked No. 3 in the world and seeded second to play Graf in the final. The world's No. 2, Martina Navratilova, whom Seles beat in the final at Rome and who is bypassing the French Open for the second straight year, has said that Seles would sweep everyone off the court if she ever developed a serve as strong as Graf's. It was hardly surprising that Seles was observed over the weekend on a practice court hitting nothing but serves, for a solid hour.

Sánchez is seeded third, which means she is placed to play Seles in the semifinals. But to get that far, she may have to deal with Jennifer Capriati, the latest teenage sensation, in the fourth round. Capriati, 14, has beat Sánchez twice this year, 6-1, 6-1 at Hilton Head Island and, most recently, 6-3, 6-4 on Saturday in the Nations Cup tournament in Spain.

For Sánchez, the French Open is special because it represents her finest moment in tennis. But as the traditional finale of the European clay-court spring, it is one of the major tennis spectacles of the world. Ask any player what makes it so special and the usual answer is "prestige."

But what gives a tournament prestige? If it is prize money, the French Open certainly qualifies. More than \$5 million will be handed out this year. More significant, perhaps, is the link with history: the powerful players and memorable matches that still echo through the colorful grounds, named after the pioneer French aviator Roland Garros. The modern grounds date to 1928, when the "Four

Musketiers" of French tennis — Henri Cochet, René Lacoste, Jean Borotra and Jacques Brugnon — successfully defended the Davis Cup championship in the first of six consecutive years. A more recent example is Chang's spectacular upset of Lendl in the fourth round last year. Those four hours of agony and ecstasy will not soon be forgotten by anyone who witnessed them.

A third and perhaps paramount element that makes the French Open special is the particular brand of tennis produced by the dusty, red clay courts. In fact, the French Open is the only two-week clay-court tournament in the world, and one of the few in which every man's contest is a best-of-five affair. Rex Bellamy, the dean of European tennis writers until his retirement last year, described it best some years ago.

"Clay presents a kind of animated geometry," he said, "because the court surface is so much slower. The players can't put the ball away quickly. They can't hit outright winners so they have to fence, to spar for an opening. They'll probe here, they'll probe there, they'll hit one possible winner and it will come back, so they'll have to start again. There's a lot of thought, subtlety, construction, concentration and patience in clay-court tennis. It's a game of great beauty."



Defending champion Michael Chang hasn't won a match in three warmup tournaments.

## WORLD CUP WARMUP

## Alcohol: 'Marked' British to Be Banned

ROME (Combined Dispatches) — Italian authorities will ban the sale of alcohol whenever it is deemed necessary during the World Cup, and the government has said it will accede to requests by the British government to deny entry to any "marked" British citizen who threatens public safety.

"It will be a total World Cup," said the interior minister, Antonio Gava, "a day without alcohol does everybody's health good."

Following a final meeting Friday night of the World Cup security council, Gava said authorities in the 12 cities staging matches have been given powers to ban sales of alcohol.

The meeting was attended by the chiefs of Italy's police forces. World Cup officials and the prefects of the 12 cities where the 52 matches in the 24-nation tournament will be played.

Gava said the decision on whether to ban the alcohol sales had been left to the authorities in each city. Senator Giancarlo Ruffino, the undersecretary of interior and the head of the World Cup security committee, said that under a law enacted last year, Italy could turn away or deport foreigners who have a history of sports violence.

Gava said the interior ministry had received from British authorities photographs and dossiers on about 100 of the most dangerous English hooligans with criminal records.

## Chilean Goalie Admits Faking Injury

SANTIAGO (Reuters) — Former Chilean captain Roberto Rojas has ended nine months of denial and admitted faking an injury during a World Cup qualifying match against Brazil. FIFA has banned Rojas for life because of the incident.

In an interview with La Tercera newspaper, published Saturday, Rojas said: "I cut myself with a surgical knife. He had confessed, he said, 'because you can not live with a lie.'"

In the Sept. 3 game in Rio de Janeiro, Chile was losing by 1-0 in the 60th minute when a flare from the stands landed in the penalty area and Rojas fell, hands covering his bleeding forehead. Teammates carried him off and refused to return, claiming it was too dangerous.

Rojas said teammate Fernando Astengo and two team aides were involved in the deception, but that the coach, Orlando Aravena "knew nothing about our plan."

Sweden routed Finland, 6-0, Sunday as Mats Magnusson and Tomas Brodin each scored twice in a warmup match in Stockholm. (AP) Turkey and Ireland tied, 0-0, in Izmir, Turkey. (AP) Colombia and Egypt tied, 1-1, in Cairo when midfielder Fredi Rincon scored with eight minutes left. (AP)

West Germany beat Czechoslovakia, 1-0, on a goal from midfielder Uwe Bein Saturday in Dusseldorf. (AP) Spain beat Yugoslavia, 1-0, when striker Emilio Butragueño scored in the 37th minute in Ljubljana. (AP) Romania tied Belgium, 2-2, with two goals in the last half in Brussels. (AP) Argentina tied Valencia, 1-1, Friday night in Spain. (AP) Brazil's manager, Sebastiao Lazaroni, appears set to coach the Italian first division club Fiorentina next season, his agent said. (Reuters) The U.S. team will play the East German national team in an exhibition match July 28 in Milwaukee. (UPI) Romania's midfielder, George Hagi, has signed a four-year contract with Real Madrid worth \$2 million. (AFP)

## SCOREBOARD

## Major League Standings

(Through Saturday)

## AMERICAN LEAGUE

## East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Milwaukee	21	20	.512	1 1/2
Seattle	22	22	.500	—
Minnesota	22	22	.500	—
Chicago	20	25	.444	4 1/2
Baltimore	19	24	.442	4 1/2
New York	17	23	.425	5

## West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Oakland	20	22	.476	—
Chicago	24	15	.615	—
Minnesota	21	15	.583	—
California	21	22	.487	—
Seattle	21	24	.467	—
Kansas	18	24	.430	—
Kansas City	18	24	.430	—

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Pittsburgh	25	17	.595	—
Philadelphia	24	17	.582	—
Montreal	20	21	.485	—
New York	20	21	.485	—
Chicago	19	24	.442	—
St. Louis	19	24	.442	—

## West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cincinnati	20	20	.500	—
Los Angeles	20	20	.500	—
San Diego	20	22	.476	—
San Francisco	16	24	.400	—
Atlanta	16	24	.400	—
San Francisco	16	24	.400	—

## Friday's Line Scores

## AMERICAN LEAGUE

## East Division

Boston 3, Detroit 1; Baltimore 3, New York 1; Chicago 3, Cleveland 1; Kansas City 3, St. Louis 1; Milwaukee 3, Pittsburgh 1; Minnesota 3, Seattle 1; Oakland 3, San Francisco 1; Toronto 3, White Sox 1.

## West Division

Los Angeles 3, Oakland 1; San Diego 3, San Francisco 1; Seattle 3, Milwaukee 1; St. Louis 3, Kansas City 1; Toronto 3, White Sox 1.

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## East Division

Pittsburgh 3, Philadelphia 1; Montreal 3, New York 1; Chicago 3, St. Louis 1; Cincinnati 3, San Francisco 1; Atlanta 3, San Diego 1.

## West Division

Los Angeles 3, San Francisco 1; San Diego 3, Oakland 1; St. Louis 3, Kansas City 1; Toronto 3, White Sox 1.

## Major League Standings

(Through Saturday)

## AMERICAN LEAGUE

## East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Milwaukee	21	20	.512	1 1/2
Seattle	22	22	.500	—
Minnesota	22	22	.500	—
Chicago	20	25	.444	4 1/2
Baltimore	19	24	.442	4 1/2
New York	17	23	.425	5

## West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Oakland	20	22	.476	—
Chicago	24	15	.615	—
Minnesota	21	15	.583	—
California	21	22	.487	—
Seattle	21	24	.467	—
Kansas	18	24	.430	—
Kansas City	18	24	.430	—

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Pittsburgh	25	17	.595	—
Philadelphia	24	17	.582	—
Montreal	20	21	.485	—
New York	20	21	.485	—
Chicago	19	24	.442	—
St. Louis	19	24	.442	—

## West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cincinnati	20	20	.500	—
Los Angeles	20	20	.500	—
San Diego	20	22	.476	—
San Francisco	16	24	.400	—
Atlanta	16	24	.400	—
San Francisco	16	24	.400	—

## Friday's Line Scores

## AMERICAN LEAGUE

## East Division

Boston 3, Detroit 1; Baltimore 3, New York 1; Chicago 3, Cleveland 1; Kansas City 3, St. Louis 1; Milwaukee 3, Pittsburgh 1; Minnesota 3, Seattle 1; Oakland 3, San Francisco 1; Toronto 3, White Sox 1.

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Los Angeles	20	20	.500	—
San Diego	20	22	.476	—
San Francisco	16	24	.400	—
Atlanta	16	24	.400	—
San Francisco	16	24	.400	—

## Friday's Line Scores

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Los Angeles 3, San Francisco 1; San Diego 3, Oakland 1; St. Louis 3, Kansas City 1; Toronto 3, White Sox 1.

## BASKETBALL

## NBA Conference Finals

(Best of seven games)

## EASTERN CONFERENCE

Detroit leads Chicago, 3-1

Sunday, May 27

Detroit 86, Chicago 77

Tuesday, May 29

Detroit 102, Chicago 93

Thursday, May 31

Detroit 107, Chicago 102

Monday, May 28

Detroit of Chicago

Wednesday, May 30

Chicago of Detroit

Friday, June 1

Detroit of Chicago, if necessary

Chicago of Detroit, if necessary

Saturday, June 2

Phoenix leads Phoenix, 2-1

Monday, May 28

Portland 100, Phoenix 95

Wednesday, May 30

Portland 105, Phoenix 107

Friday, May 31

Phoenix 122, Portland 119

Sunday, May 27

Portland of Phoenix

Monday, May 28

Phoenix of Portland

Wednesday, May 30

Portland of Phoenix, if necessary

Phoenix of Portland, if necessary

Friday, June 1

Portland 125, Phoenix 120

Sunday, May 27

Portland 125, Phoenix 120

Tuesday, May 29

Portland 125, Phoenix 120

Thursday, May 31

Portland 125, Phoenix 120

Monday, May 28

Portland 125, Phoenix 120

Wednesday, May 30

Portland 125, Phoenix 120

Friday, June 1

Portland 125, Phoenix 120

Sunday, May 27

Portland 125, Phoenix 120

Tuesday, May 29

Portland 125, Phoenix 120

Thursday, May 31

Portland 125, Phoenix 120

Monday, May 28

Portland 125, Phoenix 120



## MONDAY SPORTS

## No-Hitter Eludes Smoltz in 9th but Braves Beat Phillies

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
John Smoltz was two outs away from Atlanta's first no-hitter in 17 years when Len Dykstra doubled to right field, but the Braves still beat the Philadelphia Phillies, 6-1, on Sunday in Philadelphia.

## BASEBALL ROUNDUP

Smoltz entered the game having allowed 49 hits and 31 runs in 46 innings for a 3.48 earned-run average. The last Atlanta pitcher to toss a no-hitter was Phil Niekro on Aug. 5, 1973, against San Diego.

**Dodgers 14, Cardinals 7:** In St. Louis, Missouri, the Dodgers scored nine runs in the first inning, highlighted by two hits each by Stan Javier, Lenny Harris and Chris Gwynn, as Los Angeles routed St. Louis.

The Dodgers sent 14 batters to the plate in their biggest inning, scoring 10 runs against San Diego on Sept. 12, 1977. The nine runs were the most given up in a single inning by the Cardinals since Chicago scored nine runs in the sixth on June 8, 1986.

**Expos 5, Reds 3:** In Montreal, Andre Galaraga and Tim Lincecum homered as the Expos rallied from a 3-0 deficit.

Galaraga's homer, his fourth of the year, came against Tim Lincecum in the fifth and broke a 3-3 tie after Birtas had batted starter Jose Rijo out of a bases-loaded jam.

**Padres 8, Mets 4:** Joe Carter ended a slump with a homer and four RBIs, and Phil Stephenson hit a three-run triple in San Diego's six-run eighth inning in a brawl-marred game in New York.

In the bottom of the eighth, Padres reliever Greg Harris hit Kevin Elster in the back with a pitch, touching off a bench-clearing brawl. Elster charged the mound as the benches and bullpens emptied onto the field. Elster was ejected.

**Pirates 5, Giants 2:** In Pittsburgh, Don Slaght and Barry Bonds homered in the Pirates' three-run fifth inning.

**White Sox 2, Tigers 1:** In an American League game in Detroit, Ron Kittle singled home Chicago's tie-breaking run with two out in the seventh inning following an intentional walk to Carlton Fisk.

Loser Jack Morris had allowed just one hit going into the seventh. Fisk's fifth-inning homer — but Robin Ventura singled to lead off the inning. Fisk runner Rodney McCreary stole second with one out and Don Pasqua struck out but Fisk was walked intentionally before Kittle spoiled the strategy.

**Twins 3, Red Sox 1:** Dan Gladden led off the bottom of the first with a home run and Kevin Tapani blanked Boston for seven innings as Minnesota completed a three-game sweep in Minneapolis.

**Royals 6, Yankees 2:** In Kansas City, Missouri, Kevin Appier, in his second start of the season, pitched seven strong innings and Kevin Seitzer hit a homer and two doubles in the defeat of New York.

**In games played Saturday:**  
**Athletics 6, Indians 3:** In Oakland, California, Ricky Henderson tied Ty Cobb's 62-year-old American League record for stolen bases and the A's won their sixth in a row.

Henderson stole third base with one out in the fifth, giving him 892 steals in less than 11 major league seasons. Cobb set the mark in 24 seasons, from 1905 to 1928.

Henderson tied the record after he singled to left against Sergio Valdez with one out and Carney Lansford followed with a single.

On a 1-1 pitch to Jose Canseco, Henderson broke for third and catcher Sandy Alomar was unable to make a throw.

Only Lon Brock (938) and Billy Hamilton (937) stole more bases. Hamilton played before 1900.

**White Sox 10, Tigers 4:** Ron Karkovics had three hits, one a homer, to lead Chicago in Detroit. With one out in the sixth, and Chicago trailing, 4-3, singles by Karkovics, Ozzie Guillen and Lance Johnson produced the tying run. After Jerry Don Glatton relieved Jeff Robinson, Guillen scored on Robin Ventura's grounder and Johnson scored on Ivan Calderon's bunt single.

**Royals 9, Yankees 4:** Tom Gordon pitched a seven-inning and Jim Eisenreich and Rey Palacios each

drove in three runs to beat New York in Kansas City.

**Texas 6, Red Sox 5:** In Minneapolis, Kirby Puckett's 449-foot (136-meter) homer to center leading off the bottom of the eighth broke a tie and gave Minnesota its sixth victory in its last seven meetings with Boston.

**Orioles 7, Rangers 5:** Billy Ripken and Joe Orsulak scored on a double steal and two throwing errors in the 11th in Arlington, Texas.

With Ripken on second and Orsulak on first, Jeff Russell struck out Cal Ripken on a 3-2 pitch with both runners moving. Catcher John Russell's throw glanced off third baseman Steve Buschke's glove and into foul territory, allowing Billy Ripken to score. Buschke's throw to the plate was wild for the fifth Texas error, allowing Orsulak to score.

**Angels 10, Brewers 3:** Johnny Ray and Max Venable each had three hits and scored three runs as California won its sixth straight with a rout of visiting Milwaukee.

**Blue Jays 11, Mariners 4:** John Olerud's two-run single broke a seventh-inning tie and George Bell and Kelly Gruber hit three-run homers for Toronto in Seattle.

Olerud's single broke a 4-4 tie. Gruber homered in the eighth and Nelson Lirio doubled in two more runs in the ninth.

**Braves 12, Phillies 3:** In a National League game in Philadelphia, Jeff Treadway hit three home runs to help Atlanta snap a three-game losing streak. Treadway's three-home run game was the first for the Braves since Ken Griffey hit three on July 22, 1986.

**Astros 8, Cubs 1;** Astros 12, Cubs 3: Glenn Davis ended a 2-for-23 slump by hitting three homers and driving in nine runs as Houston swept a doubleheader in Chicago.

His three homers tied a club mark for a doubleheader set by Roman Mejias against the Milwaukee Braves on May 2, 1962. In the opener, Davis had two home runs and five RBIs and Mike Scott ended a personal three-game losing streak. In the nightcap, Davis hit a bases-clearing double in the eighth.

**Reds 5, Expos 3:** Barry Larkin singled with the bases loaded in the ninth inning, breaking a tie and lifting Cincinnati in Montreal.

**Mets 11, Padres 6:** In New York, Sid Fernandez pitched seven shut-out innings and Gregg Jefferies homered for the third straight game as New York took advantage of three errors by shortstop Joey Coe.

**Pirates 10, Giants 4:** In Pittsburgh, Wally Backman had three hits and drove in three runs as Doug Drabek won his sixth straight.

**Dodgers 8, Cardinals 6:** Mike Morgan pitched a five-inning shut-out and drove in three runs as St. Louis for his major-league-leading third shutout.

The Cardinals have scored three or fewer runs in 25 of their 43 games, and have lost six of their last nine. Lenny Harris and Stan Javier each had three-run triples for Los Angeles.

**Clark: Broken Cheekbone**  
Jack Clark, the Padres' first baseman who is on the 15-day disabled list with a lower-back strain, was examined Saturday and found to have a fractured left cheekbone after he was hit by a thrown ball during batting practice on Friday night, The Associated Press reported from New York.

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Alain Prost climbed from his Ferrari as track workers raced to the McLaren driven by Gerhard Berger after their collision at Monaco.

## Bulls, Suns Bounce Back to Trail by 2-1

By Sam Goldaper  
New York Times Service

**CHICAGO** — Michael Jordan, who had avoided reporters since his Chicago Bulls lost the second game of the National Basketball Association's Eastern Conference final, spoke.

First he had a message for the Detroit Pistons with his jump shots, drives and leadership Saturday.

Showing no signs of the aches and pains left by his injuries in the first game of the series, Jordan scored 47 points — 31 in the second half — to rally the Bulls to a 107-102 victory over the Pistons.

Coming after the Bulls trailed by 14 points in the third quarter, it left the Pistons ahead by two games to one in the best-of-seven series.

Jordan, after making 17 of his 32 shots from the field, then explained why he had been angry at his teammates and had let them know about it at halftime of Tuesday's game.

"I spoke in terms of we, not I," Jordan said. "I have been talking all year long, and I felt it was time for other players to stand up."

His teammates stood tall Saturday. Not only did the Bulls break the 100-point mark for the first time in the series, they outscored the more physical Pistons for the first time, 46-36.

They outscored the Pistons by 64-51 in the second half when their coach, Phil Jackson, used a pressure defense that bothered Detroit.

Most important, Jordan received help offensively, as Scottie Pippen got 29 points. Those two led a devastating charge in the third quarter.

With Detroit ahead, 69-55, Jordan and Pippen took charge in a 21-6 run that gave the Bulls a 76-75 lead. Jordan scored 13 points in the period, Pippen 12.

Two free throws by Vinnie Johnson gave Detroit a 77-76 lead as the quarter ended, but the Bulls went ahead to stay at 84-82 on another basket by Jordan.

Isiah Thomas led the Pistons with 36 points. His fourth three-point shot of the game, with 15 seconds left, closed the gap to 105-102 before Jordan made two free throws with two seconds left.

**Suns Beat Blazers by 34**  
The Phoenix Suns now know what constitutes a safe lead in the playoffs, a margin of 103-57, The Associated Press reported from Phoenix, Arizona.

The Suns, who blew a 22-point lead during a 108-107 loss Wednesday night in Portland, built a 46-point bulge Friday night on route to beating the Trail Blazers, 123-89.

It was worst playoff loss in the 20-year history of the Trail Blazers and cut their lead to 2-1 in the best-of-seven Western Conference final.

"We kept the pressure on them and kept building the lead by playing aggressively instead of just trying to preserve the lead," said Tom Chambers, who scored 15 of his 24 points in the first half, which ended with the Suns up by 70-43. "That's what cost us the last game."

He had 10 points as the Suns built a 40-18 lead, the most first-period points ever allowed by Portland in a playoff game.

It became 61-31, then 70-40, in the second period and 103-57 with 1:06 to go in the third quarter. It was 112-69 with 8:31 to go in the game, and the Trail Blazers appeared to be in danger of breaking the record for largest losing margin in an NBA playoff game, 58, set when Minneapolis beat St. Louis by 133-75 on March 19, 1956.

But led by rookie Byron Irving, they went on an 18-0 run against the Suns' reserves and closed to 112-87 with 2:47 left.

That was as close as they got, though, and the Suns posted the second-biggest playoff victory in their 22 years. They beat Golden State, 135-99, in a second-round game on May 13, 1989.

Portland's previous worst playoff loss was 125-101, against the Los Angeles Lakers on April 27, 1985.



Detroit's Isiah Thomas drove for two of the 36 points he scored.

## SIDELINES

## 20 Challengers Enter America's Cup

**SAN DIEGO** (Reuters) — The Soviet Union, Japan and landlocked Switzerland are among the 20 challengers for the 1992 America's Cup, the San Diego Yacht Club said Sunday after the deadline for entries passed.

Fifteen nations will be represented in the regatta, which will feature the new America's Cup class of 70-foot (22-meter) monohull yachts, in May 1992 off San Diego Bay. Nine countries are participating for the first time: Denmark, Japan, Scotland, the Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, West Germany and Yugoslavia. Japan is the first Asian entry and the Soviet Union is the first from Eastern Europe.

## Olazábal Leads by 1 in British PGA

**WENTWORTH, England** (Combined Dispatches) — José María Olazábal of Spain held a one-shot lead after three rounds of the British PGA golf championship Sunday, then filed a protest about the 4-hour round.

Olazábal shot 69 for 13-under-par 203. A stroke back was Mike Harwood of Australia. John Bland of South Africa, who shared the second-round lead with Olazábal, fell two back, tied with Tony Johnstone of Zimbabwe.

Keith Clearwater shot a six-under-par 66 for a two-shot third-round lead Saturday in the Atlanta Golf Classic in Marietta, Georgia. Larry Mize, Nick Price and Wayne Levi were tied for second. (Reuters, AP)

## In the Groove Wins Irish Guineas

**DUBLIN** (Combined Dispatches) — In the Groove, under Steve Causton, came out of last place to beat favored Heart of Joy by three lengths on Saturday in the Irish 1,000 Guineas at Curragh race track.

In London, the betting market for Britain's premier flat race, the Epsom Derby, was thrown into confusion on Sunday by the withdrawal of co-favorite Rock Hopper because of a persistent injury. (AP, Reuters)

## For the Record

Randy Barnes threw the shot just three-quarters of an inch (19 millimeters) shy of the world record he set last week, despite fouling on five of six throws Saturday at the Bruce Jenner Classic in San Diego.

Arkansas was eliminated by Wichita State, 7-6, on a bases-loaded walk in the top of the eighth Saturday in the NCAA Midwest Regional baseball tournament in Wichita, Kansas.

Pat Riley of the Los Angeles Lakers was named NBA coach of the year by his peers and Philadelphia's Charles Barkley player of the year in The Sporting News.

Kerry Saxby of Australia set a women's world mark of 42 minutes, 25.2 seconds, for the 10-kilometer (6-mile) walk on Saturday in Fana, Norway, shaving 14 seconds off the record set by Elena Salvador of Italy. (AP)

Defending champion Laurent Fignon of France, troubled by injuries sustained in a fall Tuesday, dropped out of the Tour of Italy cycling race during the ninth stage on Saturday. (Reuters)

## Senna Wins Prix, Luyendyk at Indy

## Records Broken in Both Auto Races

The Associated Press

**MONTE CARLO** — Ayrton Senna of Brazil, clinging to a shrinking lead Sunday, held off Jean Alesi of France to win his third Monaco Grand Prix at a record pace.

Senna, in a McLaren-Honda, finished 1.087 seconds ahead of Alesi's Tyrrell-Ford after building a margin of 26 seconds through 60 of the 78 laps on the twisting street circuit.

Senna's teammate, Gerhard Berger of Austria, was third. Senna, who started at the pole position, averaged a record 138.907 kph (85.83 mph) for the 259.58-kilometer race. He was timed in 1 hour, 52 minutes, 46.982 seconds.

It was Senna's third victory at Monte Carlo in four years. Last year he led from the start to finish. But he started too fast this time.

"I was too aggressive early," he said. "Then I had problems with the engine. I slowed down to minimize the risk."

He ran the 59th lap in 1 minute, 24.468 seconds, bettering the record of 1:25.501 set last year by the defending world's champion, Alain Prost of France.

After that, Senna said, he took it easy. Alesi and Berger kept the pressure on while waging a duel of their own. Both were gaining on Senna, and Alesi edged Berger for second place by less than one second.

Senna upped his lead in the world championship standings to 22 points to Berger's 16.

In a first-lap crash that caused the race to be restarted, Berger crashed into Prost's Ferrari as Berger attempted to pass the on the inside on a hairpin turn.

"I was coming down the hill and saw Alesi had passed Alain," Berger said. "But then the gap just closed and I couldn't stop. I was going downhill and I had a lot of weight."

Their cars blocked the track and forced the race to be restarted 30 minutes later. But no one was injured and both drivers jogged back to the pits to get into back-up cars.

Prost started in second position behind Senna. Alesi was in the second row with Berger in the third. Alesi had darted inside Prost to gain second just before the turn and Berger was attempting to do the same but ran out of room.

Prost's backup lasted just 30 laps. On the 31st he went into the pits with engine problems and never returned.

Nigel Mansell of Britain, after a pit stop to change tires, had driven his Ferrari from 16th to fourth after 64 laps, but went out with gear-shift problems.

**INDIANAPOLIS** — Arie Luyendyk of the Netherlands on Sunday won the fastest Indianapolis 500 ever run.

The 36-year-old Dutchman, on the threshold of stardom in Indy-car racing the past few years, overpowered former winner Bobby Rahal over the final 33 laps, pulling away at the end in a dazzling display of speed and consistency.

His average speed of 185.984 mph (301.968 kph) not only broke Rahal's record of 170.722 in 1986, it was the fastest 500-mile Indy-car race ever, breaking the mark of 180.654 set by Danny Sullivan at Michigan in 1988.

It was the first race at Indy run in less than three hours. Luyendyk needed just 2 hours, 41 minutes, 18.248 seconds to race the 200 laps.

"I don't care if we were doing 60 miles per hour, we got first place and that's what counts," he said.

Defending champion Emerson Fittipaldi of Brazil, who dominated the first 100 laps, finished third behind Rahal, 41.7 seconds behind the winner, after being slowed by two blistered tires. Al Unser Jr. was fourth, a lap back, followed another lap behind by three-time winner Rick Mears and four-time winner A.J. Foyt, five laps down.

Luyendyk's first Indy-car victory of any kind came in his 76th race dating to 1984, making him the first to do that in the Indy 500 since Formula One star Graham Hill of England in 1966.

It was also the first time since Jimmy Clark of Scotland in 1965 and Hill the next year that foreign drivers have won America's greatest race in consecutive years.

Luyendyk, who had never led a lap at Indy, passed Rahal for the lead on lap 168 and began to pull away, running laps at more than 220 mph in his Chevrolet-powered Lola whenever he had a clear track.

Rahal had handling problems the last 30 laps and, after getting as close as four-tenths of a second, wound up 10.7 seconds back as the crowd of more than 400,000 stood and cheered the new Indy winner.

Luyendyk is expected to earn a payoff of more than \$1 million when the total purse, likely more than \$6 million, is announced at the victory banquet Monday night.

Fittipaldi had built a lead of about nine seconds when Sullivan, the 1985 Indy winner, spun and hit the wall on lap 20 between turns one and two after a half axle or brake rotor broke in the back of the car. The Penske team said Sullivan had radioed in shortly before the accident that his car had a vibration. He was not seriously injured.



**ROLAND GARROS**

PARIS

OFFICIAL TIMER

**SEIKO**

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# Karl Lagerfeld's Sweet-Sad Camera Eye

PARIS — Karl Lagerfeld likes to quote Goethe's maxim that a better future has a dark element of the past.

This seems unlikely from a fashion designer who resolutely eschews nostalgia and refuses to keep one scrap for the archives. But Lagerfeld's latest passion is photography and that shows him working from a different point of view.

## SUZIE MENKES

A sweet sadness invades the narrative fashion photographs and set-piece portraits that go on display at a London gallery this week and form the subject of a newly published book in his native Germany.

A model in a beret and trim military suit walks with a travel bag down a road to nowhere; another stands knee-deep in overgrown grass against a Draculean castle wall. The depth to these photos emerges slowly: Sitters are placed precisely in time and place or pictured against more fanciful landscapes in elaborately constructed sets.

"An idealized reality where the dream-world meets the truth halfway," he says.

In each enigmatic image there is a sense of the past and of life's unfolding story.

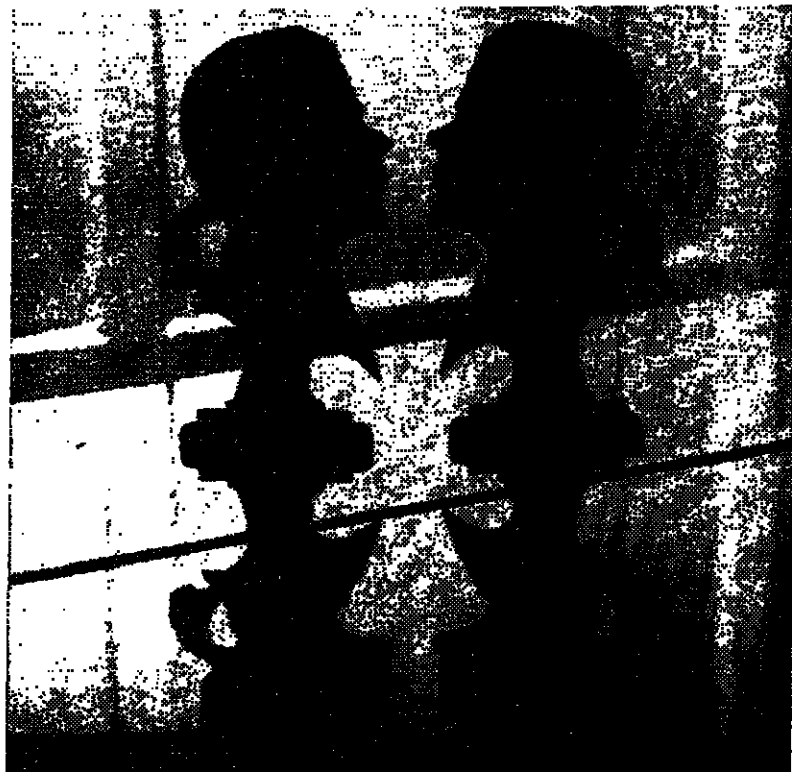
"For me a photograph is always a still, a secret from an unknown movie," says Lagerfeld. "There is something melancholic about a photograph, and the idea that things can never be exactly the same again. What makes it interesting for me is that it is the reflection of a moment in time."

Karl Lagerfeld's fashions (give or take a heavy gilded button or overpowering print) look utterly French — the sophisticated product of 35 years' work in Paris. His photographs, with their gothic fantasies and Central-European groupings, have a feeling of Germany. (He has recently bought a house in Hamburg.)

He is attracted by turn-of-the-century photography — Heinrich Kühn, Edward Steichen and Alfred Stieglitz. The sprawling Feinchen clan (the Italian fashion family Lagerfeld has worked with since 1962) is mummified in a memorable photograph as from an album in the attic; each member has eyes to camera, around a generous dining table.

Lagerfeld became a photographer in 1987, out of frustration at finding someone to create an effective press pack. Among the striking and witty images he has made are Chanel-dressed scenes from Shakespeare. He sees a logical progression from fashion to photography: "I start with a sketch on a piece of paper. Then there is the paper pattern, the dress, and the image comes back to paper as a photograph. It is like a circle completed."

The six-year-old Lagerfeld made a studio at his wealthy family's country home



"Self-portrait After a Portrait." The sculpted silhouette is by Patrick Refil.

and begged for a box of old paints. Other scenes in the Lagerfeld legend have him rejecting childish clothes in favor of a silk shirt and refusing, at age four, any Christmas present except a portrait by Adolf Menzel of Frederick II of Prussia with Voltaire in the king's dining room.

He has grown up to own many paintings and many houses. His friends are grand, aristocratic, international, and they will gather at the French Embassy in London on Tuesday for a dinner hosted by Viscount de la Barre de Nanteuil, the ambassador, and his whipper-snapper wife, Hedwig, a convinced Chanel client.

Since Lagerfeld prefers to photograph "I vaguely know," his portraits are people of some importance: the distinguished Baroness Elie de Rothschild; a boyish Jack Lang, France's culture minister, nicely captured in his habitual state of rumpled charm; the noble Duchess Pozzo di Borgo, and the gamine Princess Diane de Beauvau Craon. Caroline of Monaco (a fast friend and neighbor at his Monte Carlo home) is tender as mother with child, grand among Riviera palms or mischievous playing housewife in her kitchen.

"My favorite picture of her is one I have just done for German Marie-Claire," says

Lagerfeld. "She is like a *mousquetaire* fencing. She is a very special person to me, and I want her to look in pictures the way I see her with my own eyes."

Is the favorite work of this vital, polymath designer always the most recent one? "The next one," he replies. "I have a nostalgia for the past, but I have to create a past for the future."

He does not charge for photographs, but the pictures in the exhibition at London's Hamiltons gallery are for sale at £1,000 (£1,700) a picture in aid of the Peter le Merchant trust for the handicapped, of which Princess Caroline is patron. She hopes to fly in for Wednesday's opening party.

"There is a very European feel to Lagerfeld's work and what interest me is his fashion photography," says Hamiltons gallery director, Andrew Cowan. "Bruce Weber has been the single most important influence on fashion photography in the 1980s. He and Herb Ritts have promoted the healthy, West coast look. When I look at Lagerfeld's pictures taken in Deauville, I feel that we are subconsciously going back to Lariguet and bringing fashion pictures back to a European image."

Can the application of a fine intelligence

produce great art? No designer has been more astute than Lagerfeld in responding to fashion change. His fluid clothes for Chloé were the first to knock the stiffness out of luxury fashion. Chanel has been so finely tuned to the times that Lagerfeld has made leggings, sheer chiffon, shorts and even bike belts in the house image. The global success of his Chanel designs is overwhelming.

Yet this has produced a supreme intellect and a broad culture, rather than from the wild, wayward, soaring genius that is art's driving force. In the judgment of fashion history, and in spite of his brilliant talents, Lagerfeld risks playing Saïnt to Yves Saint Laurent's Mozart.

In the past he has been famously dismissive of Saint Laurent. (The 16-year-old Karl was once, symbolically, second to 19-year-old Yves in a student fashion contest.)

Now his irreverence is reserved for Coco Chanel. "She did some beautiful things and some real horrors," he says. "And she maintained herself as an ideal of elegance. The only way to keep her alive is to go from respectful homage to high pastiche. And I prefer to be a little controversial."

The photographs — mainly in black and white ("which gets away from reality") — have an element of shock and surrealism: a neat black and white shoe next to a hairy, bare male foot; a chinchilla coat draped a statue of Bacchus; the wittily entitled "Chocolate and Vanilla" showing a girl with a voluptuous white bosom gazing at a black man over a plate of ice cream.

Just occasionally — in the image of a humping woman on the stairs — there is a hint of the sexual savagery found in the work of Helmut Newton, a friend who has taken striking portraits of the designer. "I think my photographs are German, but they are from a Germany of another world," says Lagerfeld. "All my life I have had a feeling that I have missed something, that I was born at the wrong time, like when my mother talked about Berlin as it was in the 1920s, and I realized that life would never be what it used to be."

Each year, Karl Lagerfeld designs complete collections for Chanel, Fendi and his own Karl Lagerfeld line. A new KL shop opens in London at the same time as his photographic exhibition. Other current projects are fine jewelry for Japan and illustrations for Hans Christian Andersen's "The Emperor's New Clothes."

Such fecundity in so many different disciplines suggests that Karl Lagerfeld was indeed born out of his time. He belongs, perhaps, not to his best-beloved 18th century, but to an earlier category of Renaissance man.

It shows a sort of genius that he has made modern times his own.

# Opinion-Mongers: Pundit to Bigfoot

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — A useful linguistic scapegoat or whipping boy has been created in time for the presidential campaign of 1992.

"The seven million votes I got didn't come from no pundit," the Reverend Jesse Jackson told Paul Taylor of The Washington Post, when asked for a reaction to press critics who charged him with a "descent into triviality" because he chose not to run for mayor of Washington, as many columnists and editorial writers had urged.

Jackson, savoring the word that characterized his would-be tormentors, used it again in the same interview: "When I was talking to a 27-year-old Pentecost worker last week who has burns in her wrist from plucking 50 chickens a minute and no health insurance, she didn't ask for no pundit."

The Democratic non-candidate (a locution meaning "one who has not yet officially announced his candidacy for tactical, equal-time or fund-raising reasons, but is widely presumed to be a candidate") twice placed the target word within a double negative.

I suspect that Jackson, a skillful user of the language and soon to become a talk-show host, committed this solecism deliberately, even defiantly, to firmly dissociate himself from such users of Standard English as political commentators. (I just firmly split an infinitive to show I ain't no elitist.)

His second usage — "she didn't ask for no pundit" — is an adept turnabout of a technique used by supporters of local police forces in the 1960s, whose cars sported bumper stickers reading "In trouble? Call a hippie."

The choice of this breed of media representative as a target for accumulated political resentment is not new. President Dwight Eisenhower denounced sensation-seeking columnists and commentators, and Adlai E. Stevenson lashed out at the one-party press. The historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. turned a month-filling tirade in blasting the "penetrations of the Opinion Mafia." However, Jackson's selection of the word *pundit* suggests that a bit of journalism jargon has had enough currency to make it worthy of easily recognizable derision.

*Pundit* is Sanskrit for "scholar, learned man"; the Hindi word based on it is *pandit*. The word was occasionally given as a kind of title in India. Jawaharlal Nehru was often called "Pandit" Nehru, with the pronunciation falling between "pam" and "pan" for the first syllable. ("That this pandit (i.e., 'wise man') has become Prime Minister," observed a writer in the magazine *Encounter* in 1953, "is one of the caprices of history.")

The word has long been used to mock pretension. "For English pundits condescend" appeared in 1816, and in a *Saturday Review* of 1862, a writer noted "a point upon which the doctors of etiquette and the pundits of refinement will differ." The novelist C.E. Montague in 1924 warned against judgments taken from "some aesthetic pundit or critical mandarin."

At the end of World War I, a group of Yale undergraduates founded a club, sponsored by Professor William Lyon Phelps, called, with elitist derogation, The Pundits. Henry R. Luce was a member, after he started Time magazine in 1923, he applied the phrase as a courtesy title to such savants as the playwright Thornton Wilder and the columnist

Walter Lippmann. (Also to the American language is applied a consciously Germanic notion of locating phrases ahead of verbs.)

As long as *pundit* had a self-mocking connotation, writers of opinion in journalism could apply it to themselves with impunity, however, in recent years, some of us have taken to using it without the necessary disclaimer, and as a result have given political figures a handy term with which to censure us.

This brings us to the lexicon of opinion-mongering, a field of locutions rarely the subject of synonymy because the usual students become silly and staid. If Jesse Jackson's pony worker can denude 50 chickens of their feathers in one minute, however, I can try to differentiate among six terms in six lightning paragraphs.

*Editorialist* means "newspaper or periodical editorial writer, usually anonymous." He has a steadier job than his countervailing force, *freight Op-Ed columnist*, whose work appears under such titles as "Another View," "My Turn," "Talking Back," etc.

*Columnist* applies to "an individual writer or a team producing regular, signed opinion," and sometimes gains the circulation status of *syndicated columnist*. In *Pundits, Poets and Wits*, a new anthology of columns gathered by Karl E. Meyer, a New York Times editorialist, the anthologist notes that the term *columnist* has an "association with the I-shaped pillar from which the columnist can harangue the populace — as was finally the case with Simeon Stylites of Syria, who spent 30 years preaching from a column until his death in A.D. 459. He has come to be the patron of an unruly calling."

*Commentator* connotes "one who expresses opinion on radio or television" (and the verb is not *comment*, but the more specific *commentate*).

*Analyst* is "one who professes objectivity in reviewing the origin of a controversy and dissecting its possible outcome" but who often sneaks in prejudices of his own.

*Bigfoot*, or *media biggie*, is a celebrated byline writer who is despised for stepping on the assignments of his workaday betters. Although this person is not necessarily a writer of commentary, sometimes what he or she has to say is news itself.

*Pundit* is an expert on nothing but an authority on everything, a harmless midget.

Jackson has found a means of riposte more succinct than Spinoza Agnew's *nattering nabobs of negativism*, a phrase I originated in my attempt to upstage Agnew. Stevenson's anti-pretentious *prophet of gloom and doom* was soon narrowed to a more accurate, less grandiose, *Pundit* (much like another Hindi term, *guru*, "spiritual adviser") begun as a title of respect or reverence, and then was turned into a term of derision when applied to leaders of opinion.

I am a language snob, a word with a range of sense from "scholarship" to "enthusiasm" to "scholar" to "one" to "another" to "another incarnation, I am a political pundit, variously defined as 'opinion-monger, sage, seer, connoisseur, inviolable, vintner'."

The word *pundit* lends itself to alliterative attack: "petty pundit, Pecosville pundit pundit, playing in pats on protectors of the public" — and if it is to be a target in 1992, we will be tempted to defend our glorious calling.

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